

The Application of the Poor Law in  
Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow.

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I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work.

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## ABSTRACT

This study identifies, and takes issue with, a trend of idealism within traditional Scottish history. This trend causes the explanatory objects of most comments on the Scottish Poor Law to be constructed in terms of the criteria, largely unquestioned, of twentieth century 'Welfare'. By contrast, the explanatory object of this work locates the Scottish Poor Law, as it was amended in 1845, outwith the terrain of 'Social Welfare' and attempts, instead, to understand the operation of the 'new' Poor Law as both an ideological, and an institutional, dimension of the State's organisation of life and labour in the late nineteenth century.

I shall argue that much Scottish history is fettered by a consideration of the 'omissions' of the New Scottish Poor Law, and, as a result, fails to consider important aspects of Poor Relief.

At an empirical level, I shall suggest, from an analysis of the data from a 'corner' of Scottish Poor Relief, that, in its daily practice, the New Poor Law did engage with at least an important section of the urban proletariat. From this, the emphasis of my study is to examine, firstly, the way in which, in its operation, the Poor Law gained some 'consensus' in the face of the harsh facts of poverty. I shall argue that a crucial element in this was the way in which the practice of Poor Relief 'organised' two powerful images in Victorian Scotland: the 'family' and the 'parish'. Secondly, I shall suggest that in its day-to-day practice, Poor Relief in Victorian Scotland can be understood as a 'discipline' for paupers.

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## PREFACE

Some of the richest sources of sociological and historical inquiry, together with some of the most complex theoretical issues, have been generated by questions concerning the state and class struggle in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: questions such as those concerning the problems of order and conflict, those of consent and social control, and those of conformity and resistance.

As a student in a traditional-liberal history department, and a fledgling sociology department, which had just emerged from the umbrella of 'Moral Philosophy' in an 'Arts' faculty, my consideration of the State and Poor Law in Victorian Scotland had, however, a rather 'Fabian' genesis. Thus much of my undergraduate labour addressed a question set concerning the origins, and efficiency of the Welfare State, a question set which I shall discuss more fully in the introduction below. This was in the late 1960's, when I also became interested in the sociology of deviance, and, at that time, the work of Howard Becker, and the approach suggested by the "interactionist perspective" (1) seemed particularly meaningful.

From such origins, the 'career' of this thesis began in 1970, in the Sociology Departemnt in Edinburgh University, as I took my first, very nervous, conceptual steps in the field of the sociology of deviance. Early papers reflected the work of Becker (2) and Matza (3), and

considered the labelling of the 'disreputable poor', or the work of Garfinkel (4), and considered the application for poor relief as a 'status degradation ceremony', or specially, the work of Lemert (5), and considered the bureaucracy of the New Poor Law as a 'social control culture', made up of

"the laws, procedures, programs and organisations which, in the name of collectivity, help, rehabilitate, punish or otherwise manipulate deviants". (6)

This definition seemed to promise much when associated with the Poor Law, and the Parochial Boards. Certainly, by going beyond simple notions of social actors who were free to 'define situations' and to label each other, and by raising questions, instead, of who had the power to label whom, this definition seemed to 'politicize' the more strictly "transactional" theories which had tended to transcend historical and material factors, and to operate, as Hall et al suggest, "denuded of the concept of power" (7). Each 'opportunity' generated by its application, however, seemed to be accompanied by an immovable obstacle. For instance, the concept of 'social control culture' directed my attention to the behaviour of the Poor Law Officials, and to their common ideological perspectives - and this was novel: most histories sought a knowledge of poverty by following the 'social documentary' approach of Mayhew (8), or more locally, "The Shadow" (9), who oriented us towards the characteristics, the culture, and the customs of the poor. And yet, this novel theoretical construction did

not have the explanatory power to understand the activities, and the decisions of grass-roots Poor Law Officials in the particular context of the relationship between 'labour' and the 'agents of the State' in the latter part of the nineteenth century in Scotland. That is, a politicized labelling theory offered a superb weaponry with which to assail the enemy, but little idea where, when, or indeed, how the targets might appear.

Thus, while the concept of 'social control culture' suggested the possibility of power centres, it failed to locate them historically. Secondly, the concept's notion of power was a crude one, and did not suggest, let alone debate, the coercive and consensual forms of State control. That is, while Thomas Hobbes said, "when all else fails, clubs are trumps", the subtlety and complexity of "all else", viz., the processes through which the mid-Victorian State "cultivated", to use Hall's term, the new working classes to the regime of steady, regular and unbroken wage labour, was not raised. (10)

Moreover, as the 1970's progressed, the tension between labelling theory, the 'social control culture' in particular, and the data I was collecting from the applications for poor relief in Glasgow in 1871, was exacerbated by 'external' circumstances. On the one hand, a group of my fellow postgraduates - "the lads", to use Willis's term (11) - led by a particularly charismatic student of an ethnomethodological persuasion, instituted a sort of witch-hunt on all 'empiricists'. An element in this



mix was the fact that at this time Aaron Cicourel had established a relationship with the Department, and gave two papers in Edinburgh while he was in Britain. After the first paper, I was given the opportunity to consult him about my own research. Now this was charisma! Such developments provided an hospitable climate for, and indeed, helped to shape, the phenomenological elements in my assembly of the conception of 'social control culture' as it applied to the nineteenth century Poor Law.

On the other hand, a process of immediate politicisation was beginning. It was sparked off by a dispute about the payment of sociology postgraduates for tutorial work, and quickly involved students from the science faculty. As sociology postgraduates found moral support from the members of the Department, so the level of interpersonal relationships was seen to be unproblematic; instead, a broader political and economic framework was perceived. Further, the sociology postgraduates were joined by many natural scientists in a group which unionised by joining A.S.T.M.S. As the political temperature increased, so some theoretical positions asserted themselves at the expense of others. Another postgraduate introduced/stressed the work of Louis Althusser to the rest of us.

In the context of these developments, the concept of 'social control culture' seemed less and less relevant: with the conceptual tools provided by the labelling perspective, it was hard to locate the

'labellers' either in the present, or historically.

The version of Marxism which was incorporated into my thesis at this time, however, was of an unsophisticated, and largely undialectical nature. Thus nineteenth century capitalism was seen as sustaining itself, through the State, by processes of social reproduction, and the New Poor Law was construed in terms of the unfolding of industrial capitalism's ideological imperatives. The poor themselves were shown as a passive lot to whom things happened. Moreover, the writing of this thesis was, then, hindered by my dependence on the Althusserian obsession with empiricism. Consequently, a model of research became elusive, and empiricism was merely replaced by rationalism: in the gulf thus opened between 'theoretical abstraction' on the one side, and 'empiricist number crunching' on the other, any "productive consumption" (12) of a history of the Glasgow Poor Law in 1871 was sunk. And any attempts to bridge this gulf by stretching Althusserian philosophy admitted and sustained, in spite of attempted exorcisms, a simplistic functionalism.

This narrow theoretical position also presented problems for me on a practical front. In the college where I had begun full-time teaching for the first time, I had become particularly interested in working with trainee social workers and community workers. The addition of a vulgar Marxism to a form of phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and labelling theory, produced a picture of the State as entirely and successfully



oppressive, and of social workers as exclusively agents of social control. In this way, social work, community work, and teaching itself, were inevitably ideological state apparatuses.

I was able to offer little hope, and even less theoretical assistance, to those students who wanted to express their Left political commitment directly in a 'radical' form of practice. Moreover, this wilderness was inhabited by a contradiction: while on the one hand the State was seen as oppressive and pernicious, and its members politically impotent, these same students were among the most energetic in campaigning against cuts in educational and social services.

A more open theoretical position began to develop for me from a number of different sources, although this development has also contained contradictions, especially as regards the writing of this thesis. Firstly, just as I found the angry articles collected in Edward Thompson's book Writing By Candlelight inspirational, so I found the material in his pamphlet, and later his book, Protest and Survive, horrific; both sources impressed upon me a sense of urgency. And the links between freedom and the 'nuclear state' are clear. As Stuart Hall pointed out recently, the scale of technology and capital requirements of nuclear devices generates a logic and a timescale which are outwith the scope of our parliamentary system : democratic accountability is therefore impossible in nuclear matters (13). Moreover, to borrow Illich's terms, the presence of nuclear weapons has an "iatrogenic" effect on the security systems (14). Thus,

Thompson tersely points out that

"Civil liberties and 250-Cruise missiles cannot co-exist in this island together." (15)

My comprehension of this facet of the modern State must be seen, however, in the context of the third year in office of a Conservative government which promises the systematic deconstruction of the Welfare State. And among the erosions in welfare are those which have been taking place in the educational sector: thus my own job has been under direct threat since Christmas 1979.

Since the summer of 1980, my response to these circumstances has taken the form of a personal politicisation which has included writing and speaking locally on the subject of nuclear disarmament, and attempting to channel some of this energy through the Labour Party. Importantly, such developments did not initially facilitate the writing of this thesis. Certainly no stretch of the imagination can sustain comparison, but the last sentences of Edward Thompson's Introduction to Writing By Candlelight which explain the delay in the appearance of his next theoretical work, carried for me a moral imperative. Thus, the understatement that "Just now there seem to be more important things to do" (16) exactly paralleled my own feelings.

Reading matter such as the periodic State Research (17), community reports such as the Final Report of the Working Party into Community/Police Relations in Lambeth (18), and in particular, the work of Stuart Hall and

his colleagues (19), increased my concern to bring my teaching into line with my 'political' activity, and as I tried to do so, I have been uncovering a more flexible position between academic theory and practice. Captured in Thompson's exhortation that we must "Protest and Survive" (20) is the optimism that survival is conceivable, and that resistance is possible. In other words, a position which perceives a dialectical relationship between the State and social classes emphasises not only the hegemony of the ruling class, but also the importance of alternative definitions and practices stemming from class struggle at any given point in history. In terms of my teaching I have begun to stress the degree of autonomy which welfare bureaucracies have as part of the ideological State apparatus, as compared with the more coercive apparatuses ; social workers, community workers, and teachers are more exposed to 'counter'-ideological influences, both from the working class itself and from the intellectual struggles going on in State institutions such as schools and vocational training colleges, where, now and again, disciplines like sociology can act in the role of "Trojan Horse" (21). More importantly, I have attempted to address, at a low level of abstraction, theoretical forms which might allow workers in welfare bureaucracies to use this autonomy to admit the class struggle more forcibly into the State apparatus. Paul Willis's study of working class pupils in an urban secondary school in England provides a lot of potential here. Rather than depicting the pupils in the school as the passive recipients in the process of social reproduction, effectively nursed in an ideological State

apparatus (the school), Willis is careful to distinguish between the propositions that firstly, the school reproduces social relations by way of an ideological field, and secondly that the pupils internalise this ideology. Thus his study reports a group of "the lads" who refused to accept the school's attempt to erode their language and style. They rejected not only the authority relations which defined legitimate knowledge, but also the classroom life which rehearsed pupils in the responses of capitalist society: individualism and competition. Moreover they found the demands and promises of the school literally incredible given their knowledge of job prospects and social mobility. As one of Laurie Taylor's pupils objected in another context, "But Sir, you don't need history on the lemonade lorries". (22)

Forms of resistance as detailed as sabotaging the school's rules on dress\*, represent an important element of refusal by those who are supposed to be the most oppressed. While such resistance might lack an alternative object, and thus be vulnerable to incorporation via sexist and racist deep structures, it nevertheless constitutes a powerlessness as opposed to a passivity: radical educators are dealing with something more than 'cultural dopes'. The optimism offered by this position rests upon what amounts to a properly dialectical form of Marxism.

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\* In October 1980 I hired a travelling photo-text of the Willis study produced by the Cockpit Theatre Group. A key picture is the lad with open-necked shirt and crew neck sweater on top to conceal the obligatory, but loosened, and therefore invisible, school tie. When reprimanded for 'not wearing a tie', many possibilities for deflationary humour are presented.

The flexibility of this approach began, in turn, to inform my thesis. While the data were the same as in previous versions, and did not offer the opportunity to 'know' the Glasgow poor in the 1870's in the same way as Willis knew "the lads", by reducing the tensions engendered by an undialectical interpretation of State apparatuses , and in particular, by anti-empiricist harangues, I decided to attempt to improve my work on the Scottish Poor Law in the 1870's, and both to relax and refocus earlier versions in terms of a new formulation which construed Poor Law legislation as an ideological and institutional dimension of the State's attempt to intervene in civil and social life during a period of rapid industrialisation.



## INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the construction and application of a piece of nineteenth century legislation, the day-to-day operation of which had a direct bearing on the lives of many working people. At one level, this study seeks to represent a picture ( although one drawn as completely as possible ) of 'the poor', or rather, those men and women 'treated' by the Poor Law at a particular time in nineteenth century Glasgow. To create this picture, this study has gone to considerable lengths to reconstruct one year in the life of the New Scottish Poor Law in Glasgow, at a time described by many Scottish historians as the 'dawn' of Scottish social welfare. At the same time, however, my concern is not merely to construct a static picture, outwith the historical process; rather, my concern is with such process: how it may be understood, and how it has been understood by, on the one hand, liberal social policy historians, and on the other, 'orthodox' marxists. Specifically, my study concentrates on the processes of the creation of the New Scottish Poor Law, the processes of its application, and to some degree, to processes of resistance. The account I shall offer, then, is very different from that available in much Scottish social history; its claim to originality rests not solely on the novelty of the detail it is able to assemble, but importantly, in the location of the analysis within a broadly 'radical'

tradition of historical and sociological scholarship, and especially within the work of recent students of the State, the nature of 'Welfare', and the exercise of power.

The treatment of the Scottish Poor Law has been contained, for the most part, within conventional frameworks which view the development of welfare provisions in an essentially 'optimistic' way. The Scottish historians on whom we depend seem mainly to have shared the notions of the majority of the writers in social administration and social policy, in particular that notion of the creation of a system of Poor Relief in nineteenth century Scotland as a stepping stone in the 'evolutionary progress' of social institutions in modern capitalist societies. Now, it would be entirely possible to present the material gathered here in a way consistent with this tradition, but to do so would be to ignore a number of important weaknesses which have been pointed out in recent years by scholars who have been influenced, in a variety of ways, by the marxist tradition. Indeed, as my own study developed, I became more and more persuaded that conventional approaches were inadequate, and this led me to search for a more subtle, robust and convincing framework.

In what follows, then, I shall take issue with the conventional interpretations of social policy and social welfare: in particular, this study takes issue with the view of the Welfare State provided by the tradition of social policy history, a view which, as Jones and

Novak suggest, understands the expansion of the State into areas of 'welfare' as "the hallmark of evolutionary human progress", a development "melting away class divisions and antagonisms with the growing 'rights' of citizenship" (1). This study, by contrast, takes a fundamentally different approach and understands the Welfare State as a constituent feature of industrialised capitalist societies.

Such an approach requires at the outset, however, a re-examination of the view of the Welfare State afforded by the traditions of social administration and social policy history. In the first section of this introductory chapter, then, I shall comment upon what seem to me to be the empiricist, a-theoretical, and 'conservative' elements in the conventional account of nineteenth century 'social' legislation. In particular, within this context, I shall argue that many Scottish historians have shared this orientation toward largely a-theoretical, 'welfarist', and 'triumphalist' (2), frameworks. Such orientations, I shall argue, rather than providing insight, serve to mystify the nature of the Welfare State. Even some of the more 'socialist' accounts available, I shall suggest, mystify and 'fetishise' the State in a similar fashion.

In recent years, however, under the influence of diverse marxist strands of thought new approaches have begun to take shape. These are still far from coherent, are still fraught with inconsistencies, and any attempt to assemble them into a coherent theoretical position



inevitably produces some very strange bedfellows. What these approaches offer, however, is a widening of focus: 'ameliorative' legislation like the New Poor Law can be re-located in a broad context allowing us to understand the development of such 'welfare' in terms of the growth both of the economic system of industrial capitalism, and of the modern State. The second section of this introductory chapter seeks to define this thesis more directly, and while rejecting what has been called 'orthodox marxism', locates this study in that recent 'radical' tradition which focuses upon the political domination exercised by the State through its own institutions, in particular, the New Scottish Poor Law. In this way I shall attempt to define the study which follows, and the data it presents, in terms of an analysis of the ways in which the nineteenth century State inscribed its domination through the practical, day-to-day routines and material organisation of the operation of the New Poor Law.

# 1 Weaknesses within the Social Administration Tradition

## (a) The 'Triumphalism' of Scottish Social Policy History

At the most general level, in this section I shall attempt to expose what seem to me to be a series of empiricist, a-theoretical, and conservative elements in the tradition of social administration, and especially, an 'optimism' evident in much social policy history concerning the origins and development of the Welfare State.

Firstly, as Taylor-Gooby and Dale have pointed out, the 'subject' of social administration has, traditionally, dealt with "Welfare Studies" in Britain, and dealt with such studies in a way which has stressed practical solutions to practical problems (with very few epistemological strings attached) : scarcity or inadequacy in housing, health care, wages, educational provision, and the like (3). A substantial compilation of impressive social administration 'names' is available - a compilation justified more by the lack of overt theoretical allegiance among its members than by their commitment to clear theoretical tenets. Thus an "impressive heritage" (4) can be traced back through

"Donnison, Townsend, Titmuss to Beveridge, the Webbs, and Rowntree, Booth and earlier Chadwick, Kay-Shuttleworth and John Simon." (5)

Further, a strong element in this heritage has been a concentration on a 'field' of study rather than a discipline. As Alan Walker notes (6), Donnison makes a virtue of the fact that,

"The distinctive features of our subject is neither its body of knowledge.... nor its theoretical structure.... and we are not interested in methodology for its own sake." (7)

The result of both an a-theoretical 'field' of orientation and an empiricist tradition is that contemporary versions of 'social administration's' analysis of the Welfare State are profoundly ambiguous, and confined within the "blinkers of the status quo" (8). Such accounts emphasise, typically, the role of prominent people such

as Chadwick, Chalmers, Lloyd George, and Beveridge in the formation of the Welfare State - and will no doubt emphasise the rôle of Callaghan and Thatcher in its systematic deconstruction. Such histories of the Welfare State, as Hay suggests, are written

"from a centralist, establishment and civil perspective, concentrating on the role of experts in the process of reform" (9)

And as Ginsburg points out, structural factors, and working class agitation are referred to only superficially, in bland terms such as "the struggle for social justice", or, "the practical problems thrown up by industrialised society". (10) Implicit in this reading is an account of social history, and social problems, which might be termed an ideology of 'industrialism', in that technological processes are assigned a causal role, and industrialisation is perceived of as transcending the categories of ownership, property and social class. In this account, industrialisation is an evolutionary process in which there occurs a disintegration of the old pre-industrial order, which is assumed to have been integrated, self-sufficient, and communal. Such an Illichian reading does not see, as Raymond Williams does, that,

"the specific character of the capitalist mode of production.... is not the use of machines or techniques of improvement, but their minority of ownership." (11)

Indeed, 'triumphalist' accounts replicate the weaknesses in the perspectives of the Victorian intellegentsia, whose social criticism rarely produced any critique of the established order as a whole. Thus

critics like Arnold, Carlyle, Kingsley and Dickens, and Scottish churchmen like Thomas Chalmers (12), defended older 'cultural' values and attacked the squalor, competition and commercialisation of their age. Yet as Williams has said, criticism which is couched in terms of an attack on the evils of urbanisation/industrialisation is a very different thing from a critique of capitalism itself, and can amount to a diversion - that "last protecting illusion",

"that it is not capitalism which is injuring us, but the more isolable, more evident system of urban industrialism" (13).

More will be said about such "illusions" in chapter 4, below.

Importantly, again despite a lack of any overt theoretical allegiance, many views within the social administration tradition share a rationalist thesis about social policy history. My point here is similar to the observation made by Stedman Jones, in the case of nineteenth century English history, of the "superimposition" of the "optimistic assumptions implicit in the idea of progress" on to the positivism of history at that time (14). In a like fashion, it seems to me that much social policy history can be characterised by a view of social policy which is progressive and scientific. The history of "Welfare" in Scotland\*, for example, is written in terms of an

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\* The point of this critical comment upon Scottish history is not merely to add to the growing body of critiques of Whig history (although no sustained criticism has been carried out, specifically of Scottish historians, along these lines). Rather, my criticism seeks to establish the difference between the explanatory object of this thesis and that of traditional Scottish history.



increasing progress from a primitive, almost irrational, understanding of problems like poverty, to a gradually more scientific and rational one - the inevitable march, and 'triumph', of progress. And along the way, the equally inevitable casualties of urbanisation, industrialisation and so on, are recognised and gradually brought within the sphere of relevance of the State, there to be nurtured and cared for.

For example, in a recent and detailed study, Dr Paterson's evaluation of the Scottish Poor Law is that it,

"was a major statute providing the administrative framework through which improved relief was given.... It reaffirmed that some people in society were entitled to help from the more affluent, help which was to be regular, comprehensive and available as a right, not as a charity." (15)

She goes on:

"The 1845 Poor Law Amendment Act was the foundation upon which future welfare services could be built." (16)

While such accounts import a 'rationality' into social policy history, they manage to inject a note of optimism into the whole business. Thus Dr Paterson's article concludes that,

"even the defects discovered during its implementation provided valuable lessons for those who drafted subsequent legislation." (17)

In other words, just as this account describes the Poor Laws of Scotland and England as eventually marching broadly in step with each other, so it sees the journey's destination as the enlightenment of 'welfare' - and Dr Paterson's conclusion almost suggests an image of Progress

distributing deliberate, but educational mistakes en route.

A key notion in this form of historiography is that State intervention in poverty and its associated problems arose as a rational response to both social distress and to the perceived "social disorganisation" which engendered this distress. W Ferguson (18), for instance, discusses "rapid social change" which occasioned the circumstance that "society itself became deranged" (sic!), and argued that both these conditions were precursors for the State intervening, reluctantly, but inevitably and triumphantly. Similarly, Donaldson's account explains State intervention as the inevitable rational response to the breakdown and disorganisation of the old system. While the old Poor Law system, based on voluntary contributions and run by the Church, then,

"was not inadequate in a mainly rural society where cash was unimportant and neighbourly concern could be relied on to provide food to keep body and soul together.... its breakdown was almost inevitable as people concentrated in growing towns." (19)

Indeed, this logic has tended to prefigure the interpretation of history which is produced. For example, R.H. Campbell, at the close of a detailed chronicle of some of the worst aspects of 'dark satanic mill-life' in nineteenth century Scotland heralds his chapter on 'Social Reform' with the following:

"Such were the conditions of life endured in the industrial society which appeared in Scotland in the nineteenth century. Urgent action to reform them was required." (20)

The next chapter of his book begins therefore:

"effective action to combat the problems raised by the new industrial society took various forms. First, the traditional methods of the poor law were adapted.... to the new society." (21)

Thus State concern and intervention follows as surely as a chapter on social reform follows one on the distress of industrial life.

These aspects of the triumphalism evident in much Scottish history can be pulled together if contexted in a further, and central factor in the social administration tradition. As George and Wilding (22) have argued, and others (23) have concurred, beneath the apparent 'objectivity' of 'common sense' empiricism, lies an implicit commitment to a particular model of society; most commonly, this model is one which implies 'consensus' or 'order' in society - i.e., an implicit set of sociological theoretical presuppositions deriving from Durkheim (24) and Parsons (25). Titmuss\*, for instance, in an important essay on the 'social division of welfare', acknowledges a debt to Durkheim and views the Welfare State as a vital institution in maintaining and reproducing a socially cohesive organic solidarity. For Titmuss, welfare 'services' are manifestations

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\* While the scope of Titmuss's work is breath-taking, the extensive treatment from Reisman (26), from George and Wilding (27) or from Taylor-Gooby and Dale (28) is not of direct relevance to this study. My reference to Titmuss is rather in terms of his status as a 'founding father' in the tradition of how the 'fields' of social policy and social policy history have understood issues of 'Welfare'. Thus, perhaps unfairly to the richness of his work, I choose to emphasise some of the criticisms of it which have been offered in recent years.

"firstly of a society's will to survive as an organic whole and secondly of the expressed wish of all of the people to assist in the survival of some people." (29)

This projection of a cohesiveness of norms and values in society implies that the Welfare State is a neutral product of a consensus among the classes, and that it is designed to further the 'public good', in the 'national interest'. In The Gift Relationship (30), Titmuss asserts the notion of a foundation in human nature for social integration especially clearly. Of this book, Arrow points out,

"his blithe disregard of the usual epistemological strictures against confusion of fact and value permits him to raise the largest descriptive and normative questions about the social order in a highly specific and richly factual context." (31)

While Titmuss then stresses the functions of social policy in maintaining social integration, a sense of community and a sense of altruism (32), this emphasis does not consider why consensus should be the aim of social organisation. As Reisman has observed, conformity, integration and consensus are not automatically 'healthier' than diversity and conflict.

The richness of Titmuss's work notwithstanding, then, it remains true that until very recently, lack of development of theory within social policy history, and the dependency of this history on the unexamined value of integration, meant that Mishra was right to comment that

"social administration is unable or unwilling to go beyond a critical and refutational stance largely based on data. What



it lacks is any explicit theoretical concern.... there is little by way of a theoretical (as distinct from normative) debate in the field." (33)

Crucially, this aspect of the social administration tradition, and the triumphalism of much Scottish history which I have located within that tradition, fetter any evaluation of nineteenth century social policy, and predefine any conception of the Victorian State. While it is possible to find evaluation and criticism in such history, this is carried out in terms of the unquestioned principles of 'welfarism'.

Such evaluation rests, almost exclusively, on assessments as to how extensive certain social reforms proved to be. For R.H.Campbell, for example, that the amended Scottish Poor Law excluded the able-bodied poor, "left a gap in social provision" (34), while for W.Ferguson, similar omissions meant that, "the new poor law was not the answer to the problem of destitution" (35). The constraints produced by this unquestioned assumption of 'welfarist' criteria are also to blame for some of the hybrids generated in the historian's somewhat strenuous attempts to say something new. While in her early work Mitchison is content to comment that the reformed Scottish Poor Law, by omitting the able-bodied poor, was "partly a failure" (36), by 1980, she reasons instead, that the New Poor Law's denial of the validity of the structurally induced poverty of the Scottish working class was, in fact, a good thing: thus,

'Free from the burden of supporting.... the unemployed, the

Scottish Poor Law was able to offer a humane system to the rest of the poor". (37)

Moreover, recent attempts to come to terms with this state of affairs have not necessarily taken us much further. Pinker has argued (38) that the empiricism and methodology of social administration were necessary consequences of a hard-fought and effective struggle in the mid-nineteenth century against "the social consequences of theory and especially the normative theory of (classical) political economy" (39) which stressed the success of the unfettered operation of free markets in meeting human need. Pinker has indeed marshalled considerable evidence to suggest the effectiveness of the challenge made on the claims of classical political economy and the extremes of anti-collectivism: a challenge based upon a committed empiricism made up of 'Blue Book' sociology and the great 'surveys' conducted by investigators like Mayhew, Chadwick, and then Booth and Rowntree.

Yet it is surely misleading to over-state the "challenge" which the data of social surveys offer to any normative theory. For one thing, there is nothing inherently radical about social statistics; indeed the 'facts' cut both ways. Rimlinger, for instance, has pointed out that the background to the 'Gradgrind' and utilitarian English Poor Law Act of 1834 was also characterised by the Commissioners gathering an "enormous amount of data" (40). Secondly, such a view relies over much on the triumph of reason, and ignores the possibility that certain

forces - whether social, political or economic - generate the 'facts' appropriate to sustain a particular normative theory. It is, then, a view of how social policies change which tends

"reduce the background to policy to the considerations that would influence a reasonable, practical and unbiased person: to reduce history to progress and to give it an 'excessively tidy shape'." (41)

Further, and of importance to my examination of the Scottish Poor Law, it seems to me not only misleading, but also profoundly mistaken to construe social administration as existing independent of and in opposition to political economy. Rather this study begins from a position which sees the social administration tradition as emerging together with, and indeed, as a fundamental constituent element of the modified versions of political economy which developed within this period of competitive capitalism. It seems to me that policy change is not then a function of the triumph of reason, or of the 'facts' over dogma; rather, with Ginsburg, changes and modifications in social policy are viewed in this study as modifications which were

"forced upon the predominant ideology by the changes in the structure and the requirements of capital and by the struggle and resistance of the working class." (42)

Where the typical approach of Scottish social policy history, then, causes its explanatory objects to be constructed in terms of assumed criteria of 'welfarism', by contrast, the explanatory object of this thesis is very different: it locates the Scottish Poor Law, as it was amended in 1845, outwith the logic and grammar of 'Social Welfare'

and attempts instead to understand it as a factor in a specific phase of the State's attempts to organise the civil and social life of society. This intention, however, departs from the dominant themes of the social administration tradition in a second important respect.

(b) A "fetishised" view of the State

The emphasis upon the integrative functions of social policy has a second important aspect and this concerns the nature of the State, and particularly, the integration of the citizen into the nation state and the consequent erosion of class differences and class conflict\*. How does this view arise? As Gough points out, drawing from Marx, unlike any previous modes of production, within capitalism the exploitation inherent in the extraction of surplus labour does not require the political coercion of slavery or feudalism; rather, exploitation takes place inevitably within the economic system. As a consequence the capitalist economy has to some extent a dynamic of its own, apart from any agent or class. This peculiarity of capitalism produces the notion that the 'economy' is separate from 'politics', that is, the private sphere (the economic and merely technical relations of production) is separated from the public sphere (those political relations concerning the democratic process). In other words, workers

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\* While I shall take issue with this view, it should be noted at the outset that one of its strengths is its departure from crude, so-called 'marxist' accounts which view the State as a simple monolith totally in control of a ruling class. I shall develop this point in a later section.



'in the factory', at the point of production, are differentiated from citizens, in the political sphere. Thus, as Holloway and Picciotto suggest (43), the essential inequality of relationships within capital undergoes a metamorphosis in the political sphere and becomes a form of equality before the State. This conception of the State allows a notion of working class citizenship - made up of the achievement of universal rights - to co-exist comfortably with the undisturbed relations between capital and labour.

T.H.Marshall's famous essay ( 44) was seminal in the development of this thinking. In it he traced the origins of the Welfare State to the evolution of individual citizenship for workers in the form of civil, political and social rights, and postulated that,

"there is a kind of basic human equality associated with the concept of.... citizenship which is not inconsistent with the inequalities which distinguish the various economic levels in the society." (45)

From this concept of citizenship, many students of Welfare are led to counterpose the rights of citizens or the needs of people, as mediated by the State, to the requirements of the market. While this appearance is not entirely false, as Gough suggests, it is only partially true (46). Indeed as a consequence of its separation of the 'economic' from the 'public', Holloway and Picciotto (47) and Ginsburg (48) describe this form of the State as a "fetishised", or "fantastic", or "elusive" form.

Rather than assuming such a simple and clear separation of the 'Welfare' possible in the public sphere from the 'exploitation'

inevitable in the private sphere, my own study is informed by Marx's observation that the very existence of political freedom is a necessary condition for exploitation to take place. That is, since exploitation is based on the free buying and selling of labour power as a commodity, what is necessary for exploitation to take place is that capitalists (who own the means of production) and workers (who do not) be treated identically, as free and equal partners, before the law. Or as Gough puts it,

"paradoxically, the capitalist system demands freedom and equality before the law in order for exploitation to take place." (49)

The activities of the State, particularly its 'welfare' activities, are then not to be so clearly separated from the economic relations of capitalism as the social administration tradition suggests. The conception of the Welfare State available within this tradition is as Ginsburg suggests,

"a powerful example of the fetishised form of the capitalist state, which disguises both its origins in the class struggle and the pressure of the law of value, and its functions in the reproduction of labour power and capitalist social relations." (50)

The social policy history which relies so much on this tradition manifests the same problems. Thus the 'triumphalist' arguments of much Scottish social history depend upon a 'fantastic' and 'fetishised' view of the State, and consequently, social reforms, like that of the Poor Law, are presented as being about oversights of an otherwise rational

and fair State system doing its level best to shore up the rights of individuals against the worst ravages of the forces of the market. This view is illustrated in chapters 2 and 5 below in terms of the New Scottish Poor Law's "failure" to assist the able-bodied poor.

By contrast, my thesis on the reformed Scottish Poor Law should be seen not as an account of a "triumphal process" (51) towards 'welfare', but rather as a demystification of the 'dawn' of the Welfare State in Scotland.

This involves a conception of the State which is far removed from that of a "wise and open political elite", which "responded to just working class claims" (52). Rather, it involves a conception of the State "as a mechanism for maintaining the rule of one class over another" (53), and a consideration of how this ruling class maintains its dominance through the State. Further, while agencies of direct repression like the army and the police are part of this dominance, this thesis is more concerned with the way in which the State in the nineteenth century maintained the hegemony of the ruling class through the day-to-day application of the New Poor Law (and, ultimately, 'welfare'), and the working and reworking of images of order and stability as part of this application - images, that is, which were at the heart of the ideas and definitions of that ruling class. I do not mean to suggest that there was in nineteenth century Scotland a simple and homogeneous entity called the 'ruling class'. Indeed, in the

section which follows, I shall be at pains to demonstrate the differences between my own approach and that implied by some of the cruder, so-called 'marxist' accounts. Further, as I have attempted to outline the shape of my own study by distinguishing my approach from that of liberal social policy history in this section, I shall employ the same strategy below, and develop my introduction to this thesis, in the second section of this chapter, by contrasting it to the account offered by some 'orthodox' marxists.

To conclude this section, however, some qualification is necessary. My attention to the 'social administration tradition' has tended to concentrate upon criticisms of that tradition, and some distortion is inevitable with such an emphasis. In fact, an industry of views of the state welfare has become available in recent years\*. While the detail provided by this 'industry' is not dealt with in this study, in general terms, what I have referred to as the 'social administration tradition' is defined by a set of opinions which, although different in certain

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\* George and Wilding, for instance, in one of the most comprehensive guides to such views, provide a four-part framework:

- (i) "anti-collectivists", who oppose intervention by the state;
  - (ii) "reluctant collectivists", who are suspicious of central authority, yet also acknowledge the need for social reform and economic planning;
  - (iii) fabian or reformist socialists, who, while critical of the mechanics of welfare and social policy, show no sense of any conflict between the ethic of welfare and the capitalist system;
- and, (iv) marxist socialists, who believe that 'social problems' cannot be solved within the capitalist system. (54)

At the same time, it is possible to locate flaws in the detail and method of this guide: its critics include Pinker (55), Gough (56) Ginsburg (57), and Taylor-Gooby and Dale (58)



important respects, share the belief that the solution of social problems is possible within the existing structures of the Welfare State, and that State endeavour in this direction is desirable. Such thinkers include Keynes and Beveridge and Galbraith (who have been called reluctant collectivists), and Tawney, Marshall, Titmuss, Crossland and Donnison (who have been called fabian socialists). Still further differentiation is merited. While, as I have suggested, a social administration tradition embraces a view which sees a consensus between the classes as plausible, it must be noted that within this tradition, the existence of conflict is also acknowledged, particularly by the fabians. And yet, while Tawney, Titmuss and others like them might suggest that capitalism produces class inequalities and therefore class conflict, this is not a conflict which cannot be resolved, or at least contained, within capitalism.

In this discussion, then, I have sought to identify the key empiricist and a-theoretical elements in the orthodox version of social policy history - elements which constitute what Ginsberg describes as "the continuing triumph .... of classical political economy" (59). Such a triumph accounts for what E.P.Thompson has described as the "popular myth" which means that,

"in the name of some 'natural law of a free economy.... the public tolerates its unfreedom" (60).

An Alternative Account : Social Policy and the Modern State.

Is it possible then to avoid some of the distortions of conventional social policy, or 'welfare', histories in the study reported here? I shall argue that the way forward is suggested in the work of a number of 'radical' writers, although the difficulty always is to avoid importing twentieth century assumptions about 'Welfare' into an analysis which addresses the economic and political development of modern capitalist society.

In locating the origins of the modern English state, and social policy, both Corrigan and Corrigan (61), and Jones and Novak (62), refer to Marx's analysis of the Tudor "revolution in government" and its relationship to the establishment of the market towns of the capitalist mode of production. The reference commonly drawn from is, at length, this one:

"When e.g. the great English landowners dismissed their retainers, who had, together with them, consumed the surplus product of the land; when further, their tenants had chased off the smaller cottagers etc., then, firstly a mass of living labour power was thereby thrown on to the labour market, a mass which was free in a double sense, free from the old relationship of clientship, bondage and servitude, and secondly free of all belongings and possessions, and of every objective material form of being free of all property: dependent on the sale of its labour capacity or on begging or vagabondage and robbery as its only source of income. It is a matter of historic record that they tried the latter first, but were driven off this road by gallows, stocks and whippings, on to the narrow path to the labour market; owing to this process, the governments, e.g. of Henry VII, VIII appear as conditions of the historic dissolution process and as makers of the conditions for the existence of capital." (63)

In other words, the social policy of the Tudor state created

"the conditions for the existence of capital". From this point of view, then, social policy has nothing to do with the 'welfare' of human beings: rather it has to do with the formation of the labour market, and crucially, is concerned with the regulation of labour. Tudor social policy, therefore, was concerned with a labour force which had to be mobile, but which could not be allowed to wander off the labour market. This problem epitomises what for Corrigan and Corrigan is the 'social problem': the consequences of a certain kind of poverty. (64) Such poverty is not that of those who can be pitied and patronised as "deserving" (those who are sick or old or helpless - and in particular 'safe'); rather, it is the poverty of a second group who are sturdy or "able-bodied" and fit (for work), who are "undeserving" and who are to be feared. (65) This group have to be controlled and motivated to work, and these processes are carried out by 'social policies'.

In fact, the nature and treatment of this group is informed directly by Marx's notion of the "reserve army of labour", or to use his less economic term (66), the "surplus population". This group supplies the workforce when a branch of production suddenly expands, and its existence tends to regulate wages in that an increase in the reserves of labour depresses wages. (67) Further, capital's changing requirements of labour power produce the need for maintaining and retaining a pool of reserve labour. (68) In this context, Ginsburg, for example, has pointed out that Poor Relief, and, more recently, social

security, are, above all, concerned with the maintenance and reproduction of an industrial reserve army of labour (69). Thus, it was common in both England and Scotland during the height of the Industrial Revolution for retraining, or manual labour, or the acceptance of de-skilling to be made a condition of receiving poor relief.

However, as Thompson has warned, there are dangers in imposing 'models' or 'theories' on historical analysis without due care (although, as Eldridge reminds us, this does not mean that Thompson has no use for models at all) (70 and 71). And it is important to note that while the account of social policy in England, above, hinges on the crucial changes which occurred with the Tudor revolution, such a revolution, and its consequences for the creation of a labour market, did not occur in Scotland either in the same way or at the same time.

#### Scottish Capital : the emergence of a labour market.

By contrast, in sixteenth century Scotland, the parasitism of the aristocracy both meant that economic development was hindered, and that, at the level of social organisation, the Scottish lords pursued profit by "straightforward rapacity" (72). Moreover, the pressure they exerted against a weak central state - indeed they developed a habit, which they indulged regularly, of kidnapping the monarch - postponed the establishment of a centralised authority with enough muscle both to challenge their piratical behaviour and to provide an environment



hospitable to the development of capital.

In other words, sixteenth century Scotland's potential for capital accumulation remained undiscovered: there was little wage labour at all, and any non-agricultural wage labour which existed was restricted to the urban craft guilds, "zealously guarded areas of hereditary privilege"(73).

In such circumstances it is inappropriate to speak of a 'social policy' as such, and certainly not of a centralized state. Thus, although the formative English Poor Law of 1572 was, with some differences, mirrored in the Scottish statute of 1574, and then perpetuated in that of 1579 (74), as Mitchison points out,

"It seems clear that the Act of 1579 was not put into practice". (75)

While the poor were dealt with at a parish level, by the kirk sessions, these sessions did not act as servants of the state. Indeed, by virtue of its roots in the local community, and its possession of substantial property revenues, the kirk and its General Assembly were major rivals of the state in authority (76). And Parliament admitted as much in the Poor Law of 1592 which defined the kirk sessions as the agents of Poor Relief. The feeble condition of the Scottish State, then, meant that the practice of poor relief depended more upon the whims of local landlords and their relationship with the Church, than it did upon the needs of any 'labour market'. In these circumstances, the processing of the poor could be left safely to the elements and to pestilence (77).



The removal of the Crown to England in 1603 increased the chances that James I might bridle the Scottish aristocracy, by giving him a new power base, and there were signs that linen, coal and salt would provide a source of capital accumulation. But what for Marx was the key ingredient in the accumulation of capital was absent: labour\*. Thus Gough identifies one of the major tendencies at work within the capitalist mode of production: viz., that for a greater proportion of the labour market to work for somebody else, rather than be independent and self-employed (78). In Scotland at this time, although Mitchison has estimated a fall in the real income of the unskilled of 20 or 30 per cent cent (79), still the absence of a large class with nothing to sell but its labour meant that entrepreneurs found it difficult to buy labour power power cheaply or flexibly. As W. Thompson puts it, then,

"the extent of the real proletarianization - in the shape of complete detachment of the labour force from the ownership of tools and land - was still minimal". (80)

Now it is true that the Scottish revolution of 1638 dealt a severe blow to the autonomy of the decadent Scottish aristocracy, and forced the nobility to seek more entrepreneurial means of exploiting their property. Moreover, it is also the case that the Restoration tightened State control of Scottish affairs in the second half of the

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\* Marx believed that the real accumulation of capital concerned labour, thus: "capital proper does nothing but bring together the mass of hands and instruments which it finds.... it agglomerates them.... That is its real stockpiling; the stockpiling of workers...." (81)

seventeenth century and thereby allowed the resumption, and indeed development of the exploitation of the existing economic potential of Scotland. But, again a critical impediment to the development of capital accumulation was present in the nature of the workforce: demographic changes had produced a static if not shrinking population. Again the process of proletarianization was slight, and among the peasantry rents declined rather than increased in the absence of competition for land (82). Moreover, as Mitchison demonstrates in her detailed survey, the statute book tells us little about the Poor Law in Scotland up until the late seventeenth century. She recommends that to understand the Poor Law at this time

"it is not at parliamentary enactments that we should look, but at the effective instrument of local government, the kirk session." (83)

This localised and fragmented Poor Law did not develop into a centralised and uniform 'social policy' for some time - not, in fact, until the eighteenth century when an expansion of the landless proletariat took place. This expansion occurred for several reasons. Firstly, as both Mitchison (84) and Burgess (85) have noted, the eighteenth century is marked by the absence of the ravages caused by either famine or disease. Secondly, the Act of Union of 1707 had provided an environment favourable to the development of enterprise, and advances were made in agriculture, fishing, kelping and textiles, all with an increase in the scope for part-time employment. Such development helped to reduce the death rate

and at the same time, by encouraging early marriages, stimulated the birth rate. Thirdly, labour was becoming more mobile, and this in turn contributed to the population growth since the tendency for migrants to marry early increased the length of the childbearing period (86). Fourthly, reorganisation of agriculture at this time meant consolidation and a reduction in the demand for labour. Tenants rendered landless in this process often migrated to towns rather than accept the lot of the day labourer. Taken together, these factors amounted to the creation of an increasing body of landless men and women in Scotland during the eighteenth century. Moreover, the expansion of a landless proletariat increased with a further growth in the population towards the end of the century (the retained population of Scotland increased about two-thirds between 1755 and 1820).

Such population growth and movement towards the towns, the creation that is, of a reserve army of labour, then, occurred relatively late in the Scottish experience. While real capital accumulation (87) is based upon the existence of such an 'army', this same army's allegiances were of some concern in the early nineteenth century. While there is some debate in the literature - and perhaps Smout has overstated the extent of social order (88), just as Young has exaggerated his claims that a nationalistic and revolutionary working class existed at the time (89) - as Dickson and Clarke suggest, what is not up for debate is that the authorities and propertied classes felt threatened during a

period which saw the polarisation of social classes and an increase in protests - including trade union activity - among the Scottish working class (90). E.P.Thompson's history of the English working classes (91) is equally valid here. Thus Dickson and Clarke's summary of the period concurs with Thompson's:

"By 1840 most people were 'better off' than their forerunners had been fifty years before, but they had suffered and continued to suffer this slight improvement as a catastrophic experience." (92)

And as a result, during the period 1780 - 1830, Dickson and Clarke (93) reckon that most Scottish working class people came to the same conclusion as their English counterparts, and, as Thompson puts it,

"came to feel an identity of interests as between themselves, and as against their rulers and employers." (94)

Attempts to characterise any more precisely the developing consciousness of the working class have been subject to much controversy (95), again, largely from the pens of Smout (96), and Young (97). While this present study does not attempt to resolve this controversy, what can be said is that the shift towards urban manufacture occasioned a loosening of traditional social controls. As a result, when working class complaints were expressed in the 1790's, they were met with an iron fist rather than a velvet glove. Indeed, Dickson and Clarke find it striking that up until the 1830's,

"the use of military force, repressive legislation, government spies and informers, and a series of state trials, constituted



practically the only systematic response of the ruling class to working class unrest". (98)

These developments took place in a political context which, by the end of the eighteenth century, saw Scotland much more intimately bound within the powerful framework of the British State - and part of this bond consisted of the development of Scotland's own regional apparatus of state-control within this framework. At the same time, Scotland's traditional parochial and localistic institutions of social control were being undermined by the economic and demographic consequences of the agrarian and industrial revolutions.

In these circumstances, it became increasingly apparent that, in the execution of its central function - the regulation of labour - social policy had two faces. In other words, the government's habit of throughout the century of drafting large numbers of troops into Glasgow was one face of social policy, just as the 'social reforms' of the 'dawn of welfare' constitute another. Both show the new regulating capacity of the State - its central capability (99) - which sought to create and sustain the conditions without which effective exchange relations would not be possible (100). That this State had a capitalist core is the crucial omission of the typical Scottish social policy histories. Yet, that the State in the early nineteenth century was prepared to promote the capitalist economic process despite its chronic social costs is clear from the fate of many of its citizens. The handloom weavers, for



example, who by 1830 in Scotland were totally immiserated, were sacrificed to the capitalist process, thereby clearing the ground for large scale industry and competitive capitalism. Even when some manufacturers did express humanitarian concern this was shouted down by the powerful voice of "laissez-faire policies of untrammelled exploitation" (101). Rather than attempting to evaluate it in terms of its 'welfare', then, this thesis locates the reform of the Scottish Poor Law as a part of the consolidation of the capitalist character of the modern British State (102). At the same time, this consolidation intensified the class struggle to an extent which constituted a crisis of class control. My consideration of the New Scottish Poor Law of 1845 will be in terms of how its operation and its history served to legitimise the bourgeoisie's need for an accomodating industrial proletariat.

Several qualifications must be made to this. Firstly, Thompson has ridiculed the complexity and rigidity of the Althusserian structuralist "machine", and equally it is important to avoid the construction of too solid and causal a model of how bourgeois self-interest 'made' social policy. This would be to ignore the force of circumstances and what Corrigan and Corrigan refer to as the "great resources of flexibility within.... social policy in general" (103). Secondly, however well-meaning they may have been, nineteenth century State servants cannot be regarded as neutral social scientists (104),

but at the same time, the genuine humanitarianism of some of them is not questioned here. Thirdly, some refinement is necessary of orthodox Marxism's conception of, firstly, ideology, and secondly, of a homogeneous State apparatus acting as an instrument of the ruling class. As these refinements are important for the conceptual stance of this study, I have chosen to develop them at more length in the next two sections of this introductory chapter.

### Ideology and the Hegemonic Class

Althusser and Gramsci share a conception of ideology as a practice of producing "subjects" : "... all ideology has the function ....of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects." (105). In other words, in the reproduction of the relations of production, it is not enough to reproduce the personnel with appropriate knowledge and skills in the process of production; it is equally important to take care of this personnel's subjectivity. It is in this way that ideology 'works' to "interpellate" individuals as 'subjects', who share what Gramsci calls "the common conception of the world" (106) needed for them to fulfill, without question, the roles assigned to them.

Unlike Althusser, however, Gramsci does not construe this subjectivity, this common conception of the world, as the class ideology of the bourgeoisie. Rather, he conceives of it as a composite ensemble of ideological elements, the class character of which is not

pre-determined (107). Such elements constitute the themes, premises, and assumptions - the matrix of ideas - of a given society: in the case of this thesis, a matrix within which notions about the poor took a coherent form in late nineteenth century Scotland. And this matrix of ideas is itself the product of a given society's history, its traditions, and its struggles; it provides for a society what Castoriadis has called its "social imagery" (108). The class character of the elements of this social imagery is not prefigured, but results from their appropriation by a particular social class.

Thus, while for Althusser, the class enjoying hegemonic domination is the class which has been able to impose its class ideology on others by virtue of its control of 'ideological state apparatuses', for Gramsci, the hegemonic class is the one which, through ideological struggle, has managed to 'co-opt', in support of its claims to moral and intellectual leadership, the bulk of a given society's social imagery. It is in this way that ideological 'work' has been carried out, and a certain 'definition of reality' established which is accepted by those over whom hegemony is exercised. For example, in the case of 'bourgeois hegemony', we may call this 'subjectivity' or 'conception of the world', 'bourgeois', not because it expresses the systematic ideology of the bourgeoisie, but because it arranges, 'clusters', and articulates, in a way functional to the reproduction of capital relations, a whole series of images and ideological elements, which, by themselves, are not

necessarily bourgeois. Chantal Mouffe has summarised this difference as follows:

"For Gramsci.... the struggle for hegemony is a struggle within ideology and not, as with Althusser, a struggle between ideologies whose origins are located elsewhere." (109)

Now this is important to my thesis for several reasons. Firstly, Gramsci's attempts to repair the economist and reductionist conception of ideology held by orthodox Marxism directs us to the importance of the powerful social images which all ideologies contain at their heart. In particular, I shall be concerned with the ways in which these image clusters contributed to the creation of that 'definition of reality' - what Stuart Hall terms a society's "unquestioned substratum of truth"(110) - which contexted the operation of the New Poor Law.

My conception of how ideology works, then, is as a matrix of ideas, images, and categories of thought, into which Scottish people, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, were located as social actors whose subjectivity/consciousness was defined within the parameters of the existing social and economic system. As Colin MacArthur has commented, in general terms, on the "cultural hegemony" of "Scottish Myths" (111), this thesis considers the images of the family and the parish, which taken together - to adapt Stuart Hall's text (112) - produce and sustain an immensely powerful source of emotional force and appeal; and amount to a sense of "Scottishness" which every Scot shares, at least to some extent.



This focus on forms of 'domination' other than coercion places my thesis within what might be loosely termed the 'New Left' which has championed what Shaw has called the 'spontaneous creativity' of working people in opposition to formal politics (113). This thread links firstly the 'cultural socialism' of Raymond Williams, which has stressed both the creativity of working people embodied in working class organisations (114), and, particularly, the importance of subjective/cultural factors in the class struggle (115), with, secondly, the emphasis which recent writers in Scotland have placed on the need to understand, and ultimately, to expose and deconstruct, the cultural hegemony maintained in Scotland\* (116).

In addition to directing us toward the importance of 'social imagery', the orientation provided by Gramsci is important to my thesis for a second reason. This is that Gramsci never poses hegemony as merely a rarefied system of ideas: never as purely ideological dominance. In other words, Gramsci's conception of hegemony is not an 'abstracted' one. Rather it refers to a whole complex of practical and intellectual means by which the ruling 'bloc' secures its position\*\*. And it is this 'complex' that I shall consider in the next section of this chapter.

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\* This is the same thread which links the student movement of the late 1960's; the feminist movement; much rank and file industrial militancy; and the contemporary campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament.

\*\*Gramsci's proposal of the organisation of workers' councils within factories (Ordine Nuovo) provides an example of 'practical' means for posing the question of power. (117)



Such consideration, however, requires some qualification of orthodox Marxism's homogenisation of the State as an instrument of the ruling class.

### The Application of the Poor Law as an Exercise of Power

In the enthusiastic pursuit of a critique of the account of 'Welfare' offered by traditional Scottish social policy history, there is a real danger of substituting in place of a version based upon notions of the inexorable - if at times faulty - progress of rationality embodied in the Welfare State, the equally over-simplistic conception of the State which is available in some orthodox Marxism, namely, that the State is a crude, monolithic and homogeneous apparatus at the service of capital against labour. By contrast, I am not suggesting that there was, in late nineteenth century Scotland, a simple homogeneous entity identifiable as 'a' or 'the' ruling class (118); rather, it is important to note Gramsci's recognition that those dominant at the level of the relations of production, at certain points in history, sought to satisfy their interests through the political and ideological leadership of a particular fraction of their class, or alliance of class fractions. For instance, the mid-Victorian era saw the creation of such a power bloc in British society (119). In a country in which, at best, only thirty per cent of the adult males in urban working class constituencies had the vote (120), this alliance of dominant fractions or groups

included a growing rentier bourgeoisie, centred in the south of England and in close contact with the central State apparatus; big landowners, who still occupied their traditional social position, as well as the top posts in the State apparatus; the industrial capitalists of the north of Britain, who were buying their way into the power bloc - in the case of Glasgow, this lot included families like Glassford, Spiers, Ritchie, Cunninghame, and in particular, Dunlop (see below, chapter 1); and finally the 'urban gentry', the intellegentsia who served the State on Royal Commissions, and articulated the prevailing ideologies. Moreover, while it is significant that the landed aristocracy continued to figure in this working alliance, Gray points out that it was the industrial bourgeoisie which formed the predominant ideological leadership, diffusing its way of life and thought throughout British society, in a manner summarised by Burgess:

"the agencies of hegemonic control like the town councils, Poor Law guardians and the press passed directly into the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie in the rapidly expanding manufacturing districts." (121)

As opposed to being a homogeneous entity, then, the Capitalist State which existed at the end of the nineteenth century was firstly, the product of the class struggles and compromises of the 1830's and 1840's, and secondly, such struggles and compromises also went on within the State and indeed are an integral part of the functioning of the modern Capitalist State (122). Thus, as Richards points out, the

restraining of an earlier aggressive Capitalist State was accomplished by the contribution of landed, and popular power. This conception views the modern State as a "condensed" version of the class relations which works for the overall cohesion of capitalist society (123).

My analysis of the New Scottish Poor Law, similarly, is informed by those contemporary Marxists who have sought to emphasise the fragmentary, semi-autonomous and heterogeneous nature of the mechanisms of the State (124), and thus refine the homogenisation that orthodox Marxism accomplishes. Moreover, that a regional structure of government was introduced in the administration of the New Scottish Poor Law adds to the potential of adopting a 'deconstructed' view of the way in which a 'heterogeneous' State exercised its power. This conceptual stance, then, leads me to reject what Fine has termed, in another context, the "dogmatic analysis" of much of the received wisdom about welfare (125). On the one hand, 'welfare', as suggested above, has been idealised as a democratic and 'natural' necessity; and on the other hand, some 'dogmatic' Marxist views have concentrated on the control functions which 'welfare' performs and neglected the form which 'welfare' takes. That is, the form of power embodied in the practice of 'welfare' has been excluded from historical criticism. For example, it is one thing to assert that certain interests were served, and certain functions performed, by the control of the Poor in nineteenth century Scotland; it is, however, quite a different thing to ask questions about why the

treatment of 'paupers' should be predicated upon the 'work-house test' of 'eligibility', and mediated by the legal system, the medical profession, and the Poorhouse.

It is this latter question-set which is the concern of this study: that is, my thesis is a response to the neglect of the practice of the nineteenth century social reforms - such as that of the Poor Law - which is displayed by both 'traditional' and 'orthodox Marxist' histories. Rather than restrict discussion of the nineteenth century Poor Law, then, to the 'couple' of its 'adequacy/inadequacy', or its 'welfare function/repressive function', my approach regards such discussions as distractions from the way in which the Scottish Poor in the second half of the nineteenth century were treated. In contrast to such "dogmatic" (126) views, my thesis concentrates upon the political domination exercised by the State through its own institutions, in particular, the New Scottish Poor Law.

My approach derives much from the way in which Michel Foucault's work offers a conception of power different to that of traditional political philosophy: whereas classical political theory understands power as the possession of a sovereign force, Foucault focusses on the form in which power is exercised. While some very valid questions have been asked about Foucault's position (127), his accomplishments are freely acknowledged: in the most recent and thorough critical reviews of his work, both Fraser (128), and Fine (129 and 130) stress the



importance of the insights offered by his account of nineteenth century power relations. In this discussion of Foucault's work, three points are especially pertinent to this study. Firstly, while liberationalist politics stress that power functions essentially negatively - that is, power simply says 'no' to what are defined as illicit desires, needs, acts and speech (131) - Foucault's account seeks to establish that power is in fact, productive of all these things; indeed, Fine (132) stresses this insight into the "positive effects of power" (133) as a point of convergence between Marx and Foucault. Similarly, this study is concerned with the 'accomplishments' of the practice of nineteenth century Scottish Poor Law.

Secondly, Foucault poses a view of the exercise of this power as "capillary": in other words, it operates in the minute routines of every day social practices. In this way, Foucault provides a conceptual and empirical basis for considering such phenomena as sexuality, the family, schools, psychiatry, medicine, social science, and 'welfare', as political phenomena. Similarly, my thesis locates the operation of the New Scottish Poor Law in what Foucault terms the "micropractices" which anchor the power of the State. Consequently, this study takes the conceptual stance that, to understand the way in which the nineteenth century State inscribed its political domination, we must look at the practical, day-to-day routines and techniques, the material organisation - even the architecture - involved in the State's exercise of power; and



rather than construe such routines, techniques, organisation, and architecture as links in the chains of traditional social policy history, my approach draws on Foucault's "archaeology", which, by contrast, understands these elements as "monuments", that is, as objects describable in themselves (134).

Thirdly, Foucault establishes that power touches people's lives more fundamentally through their social practices than through their beliefs: in other words he asks hard questions of those orientations restricted to demystifying ideologically distorted belief systems. In the context of this study, this forges another point of convergence with 'New Left' thinking, as outlined in the section above: namely that Gramsci's conception of hegemonic control is not an abstracted one, but one which draws from a view of the way by which the ruling 'bloc' secures its position by means of a complex of practical and intellectual measures.

Of course there is also a great gulf between Foucault and Marx. The main divergence is Foucault's rejection of a class analysis in his consideration of disciplinary power, and it is this divergence which has caused him most difficulty according to his critics (135). Fine, for example, comments that Foucault's 'classless' characterisation of any central organising unity as reproducing disciplinary relations, leads him to an 'anarchic' position where he ends up complaining not about a particular form of social organisation, but about all rational

organisation as such (136).

This thesis will stress, then, the aspects of Foucault's work which have enabled him to look at the phenomena of power in interesting new ways, and in particular, to provide important insights into the exercise of power as part of the emergence of "modernity" (137). By doing this within the context of recent work carried out by contemporary Marxists, I hope to avoid what Fraser calls Foucault's "normative ambiguities" (138). A note of caution is merited at this point. In seeking to replace the class analysis missing in Foucault's work, there is a danger of emphasising only one half of the dialectical relationship between the State and social classes. The nature of the data considered in this study, described in chapter 2 below, is such that working class voices are largely 'silent' in what I shall write. Yet to stress the hegemony of the ruling class, and the extent to which the nineteenth century Poor Law sought to imbue workers with ruling class definitions means that we are in danger of under-emphasising working class resistance to State definitions. It is important therefore, to distinguish between the notion that the State reproduces social relationships by way of an ideological field, and the quite separate notion that workers internalise this ideology. Willis's work, for example, has shown the existence of a resistance which constitutes a powerlessness as opposed to a passivity\*. Similarly, contemporary

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\* See above, Preface.

social workers have become aware of the recognition by working class clients that in order to gain certain services, they have to appear to accept the Welfare State's definition of their situation; this is very different from them internalising this definition.

A rare example of resistance to the New Poor Law is quoted in the Minority Report on the Poor Law of 1909: The Webbs describe a Glasgow Poor Law medical officer trying to persuade a man to say he had a "sore back" and thereby become eligible for relief. The man, who was able-bodied, simply required the train fare to Edinburgh where a job awaited him: in this case the man resisted attempts to create a medical rationalisation for his poverty and its relief. While the data in this study are such that this example is a rare one, we must not lose sight of its importance as a balance to the account which follows.

This note of caution, then, should be seen as contexting my study's focus on the intervention of the State in social and civil life through the practices and "micro-practices" which constituted the day-to-day operation of the Scottish Poor Law. This focus is, however, justifiable. In a period which saw the stabilisation of industrial capital within Britain, the establishing of Britain as the hub of the international economy, and the transformation of the existing basis of production by the introduction of large-scale machine production, the role of the State, to use Hall's term, is both "minimal" and critical. State intervention in both civil and social life, in fact, broke the

traditional economic constraints on the growth of industrial capital.

In this way, the New Poor Law was an assault on the paternalism of an older order, and an attempt to draw the poor directly into the net of 'productive labour'. Further, I shall suggest that such intervention had two related aspects.

Firstly, the New Poor Law should be understood in terms of the need of a capitalist economic system for a work-force which is not only of the right quantity, but also of the right quality. Such a system, in other words, requires that a process of social and political reproduction takes place. This process addresses the creation - and by Victorian times, the recreation - of a class which is ready and willing to work and crucially, to work under certain circumstances. Such circumstances in nineteenth century Scotland, were about accepting as 'natural' relationships based upon inequalities which produced extremely harsh and severe deprivation. Chapters 3 and 4, below, consider two traditional images involved in accomplishing this acceptance: the family and the parish. The operation of the Poor Law in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow will in turn be considered in terms of how these images were used in the regulation of social and economic life.

Secondly, in the face of the increased concentration of workers, often in clearly defined areas of cities and towns, a fear of the masses was "always underlying and informing the actions of the ruling

class" (139) throughout the nineteenth century. Now while overt violence and force were still used against workers, the Victorian era, as I have argued above, also saw the beginning of the State's tendency to develop and utilize 'social welfare' measures in the regulation of labour by 'educating' the workers to adopt for themselves the values and attitudes of the dominant class. Just as the New Poor Law can be seen as an 'educator' in certain attitudes towards work, then, it should also be seen as a social discipline.

Rather than produce an analysis which on the one hand, like 'triumphalist' accounts, is restricted to assessing the 'adequacy' of the Poor Law, or on the other hand, like some 'orthodox' Marxists is restricted to the functions 'welfare' performs, my thesis is concerned with the form taken by the 'welfare' of the Scottish Poor Law. Chapter 5 will attempt to highlight this and will stress that political domination is exercised by the State through its institutions - in the case of this study, through the application of the New Scottish Poor Law of 1845. I shall examine how this application took the form of, in the words of the Poor Law Board of Supervision,

"work, confinement, and discipline" (140 - their emphasis)

Chapter 1 which follows, seeks to provide a sketch of the background of the mid-Victorian era, both in terms of the New Poor Law, and in terms of the social and economic circumstances of Glasgow at



the time; chapter 2 provides a profile of main data source of this study. Taken together, the narrowing of focus provided by these chapters will attempt to stress the clear limitations of the local focus provided by these data. Any conclusions as to the operation of the New Poor Law must therefore be seen as specific to a part of Glasgow in the middle of the second part of the nineteenth century. More general interpretations require further study.

## CHAPTER 1

The New Poor Law and Nineteenth Century  
Glasgow

This chapter is largely descriptive and seeks to provide an historical context for this thesis. From a description of the legal parameters established by the Scottish Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845, it goes on to a sketch of the social and economic character of mid-nineteenth century Glasgow.

(1) The Scottish Poor Law

The Royal Commission of 1909 described the pre-1845 Poor Law as a

"regulated and legalised scheme of begging supplemented by voluntary assessments and the charities of the Church". (1)

Prior to 1845, there existed no statutory body which was concerned with the administration of the Poor Law. In each parish, the poor fund was collected and distributed by the members of the Kirk Sessions and the Heritors (landowners) of the parish, who as a body were responsible for the maintenance of the poor. The poor fund was collected at churches, and the income was supplemented by donations, bequests and revenue from investments held in trust by the church for the poor.

Importantly, the heritors and kirk sessions had the power to levy a poor rate. An Act in 1663 provided that half the poor's rate should

be levied from the heritors, and half from the tenants. This is the meaning of the term 'assessment', which occurs frequently in consideration of the Scottish Poor Law, the point being that the legislation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made permissive, but not compulsory, the levying of assessments. By 1818, out of 880 parishes, only 145 had a system of assessment for the poor. Apart from meaning extra taxes, it was argued that more assessments would increase the number of poor who would feel they had a right to this source of relief. Moreover, it was felt that compulsory assessments would deaden the charitable impulses of the better off members of society, and also would mean that the poor became less self-reliant. For such reasons, Campbell, for example, notes "the extreme reluctance to levy assessment". (2)

Poor Relief was granted as a right only to those who as a consequence of age or disability were unable to look after themselves. The able-bodied poor were relieved occasionally, out of the charity of the church. As Nicholls notes,

"The chief characteristic of Scottish Poor Law administration, as contrasted with that of England, is the pertinacity with which all claim to relief on behalf of the able-bodied has been resisted." (3)

Each parish was responsible for the relief only of its own poor, that is, those who had settlement in the parish. The pre-1845 legal position meant that a person had settlement by birth, or could achieve settlement by marriage or by a period of residence in the parish. The

length of this period was fixed at seven years by the Act of 1579, and altered to three years by the Act of 1672. Although in the Proclamation of 1693, seven years is again mentioned, three years seems to have remained sufficient to establish settlement.

In Scotland the emphasis was on outdoor relief, that is, outside the poorhouse. Indoor relief was reserved for those who were too young or old or sick to look after themselves. Relief was given in cash or kind - food, clothing, medicines or, in some cases, a licence to beg: it was legal for some recipients of relief to supplement their income by begging in the parish.

In 1843 a Royal Commission was set up to investigate provision for the poor. Its Report in 1844 told of inadequate and sporadic provision of relief, resulting from inefficient and disorganised administration.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845, drafted from the Royal Commission Report, created a Board of Supervision, a central body empowered to "inquire into the management of the poor in every parish or burgh in Scotland" (4). Under this central body each parish had to set up a board responsible for local Poor Relief; these boards were the "parochial boards of managers of the poor" (5), comprising the greater heritors of each parish, magistrates of burghs, representatives of kirk sessions, and members elected on a high property franchise. Each Parochial Board had to appoint an Inspector, the officer in

charge of parish Poor Relief.

The parish retained, and defended, its independence under the new system, and remained the main unit of organisation. Initially the Board of Supervision operated in an advisory capacity to the parochial boards, but as it became established it came to receive an increasing number of complaints from all sides - applicants for relief, local rate payers, and parochial board members themselves. This resulted in more intervention in local affairs, which was often met with opposition. My research indicates, for example, in Glasgow in April 1855, that the Inspectors Committee opposed the introduction of a new system for keeping Parochial Records. They found the system to be "utterly unsuitable for the purposes of the parish" (6), and instructed the Inspector to go to Edinburgh to take up the matter.

As with the old system, assessments were voluntary and the decision to levy the poor rate lay with the Parochial Board. However, the Act did make clear the duty of the parish to provide relief. Parishes, in practice, were forced to assess themselves as the Inspector was criminally liable for the death of any person whose application for relief had been refused. (The main data source reveals a significant number of applicants refused relief - secondary sources however, have revealed no evidence of prosecutions of Poor Law Inspectors. This is obviously a testament to the good health of Glasgow paupers!) The number of assessed parishes increased rapidly.



Out of a total of 880, 230 assessed themselves in 1845, 420 in 1846, and 840 in 1894.

The new Act retained the criteria of eligibility of destitution and disability. The principle which excluded the able-bodied from any form of relief generated a lengthy debate which will be discussed in chapter 5.

The subject of settlement was one of the most controversial put to the Royal Commission of 1843. It received complaints that the three year period of residence encouraged a constant influx from the poorer rural parishes to the towns and larger villages which thus became unduly burdened. While the Commissioners did not attach much weight to such complaints (7), the period of residence was increased to five years.

Outdoor relief continued to be preferred under the new system. However, in 1849, the Fourth Report of the Board of Supervision began to consider extending the scope of indoor relief. The idea of the poorhouse as a "test" of the "genuineness" of applications was stressed on the grounds that the

"altered feelings of the poor in regard to parochial relief, their more perfect knowledge of their rights, and the facilities which the law now affords for enforcing them, have caused strong pressure upon parochial boards from a class whose claims it would be unsafe to admit, without testing the truth of the allegations on which they are founded." (8)

Such thinking generated questions as to the efficacy of the

poorhouse as a deterrent against such a "class" of claimants. The Fourth Report went on to stress the necessity of tightening up the rules and regulations existing within the poorhouse for reasons that it would be

"wholly useless as a test.... unless it is conducted under rules and regulations as to discipline and restraint, so as to render it more irksome than labour." (9)

It is on this last point particularly that what I have called 'triumphalist' history is concerned to comment: that the amended Poor Law 'excluded' the able-bodied poor, in 'welfarist' terms, means that the Act of 1845 was, either wholly or partially, a 'failure'. While the formal letter of the Law did indeed restrict relief to the disabled, I intend to argue that, in its day-to-day operation, the New Poor Law, most definitely did engage with the able-bodied poor of industrial Glasgow. The kind of poverty which this legal framework addressed in late nineteenth century Glasgow can be understood by considering the social and economic context of this period.

## (2) Glasgow in 1871

What amounts to, in MacLaren's terms, the "narrative style" of many histories of nineteenth century Glasgow (10) opens them to many criticisms and curtails their usefulness. For one thing, a critical treatment of theme is almost entirely lacking - even a debate at the



level of 'revisionism' discussed in the introduction to this thesis is rare. Instead Glasgow histories tend to revel in their shared, often romantic, interpretation of that history. In one important aspect, however, a 'romanticised view of Glasgow's history coincides with a more realistic interpretation. This has to do with the 'greatness' of certain Glasgow families, so eulogised in 'classic' works like Oakley (11). Now it is true that Glasgow's position on the North Atlantic shipping route, which secured her most of the American tobacco trade in the eighteenth century, coupled with her 'natural' resources of minerals, cheap water power, and cheaper still labour power, accounted for much of the rapid industrial development of the City in the nineteenth century. It is also true however that, as Foster points out, part of this development,

"must derive from the prior existence of Scottish capitalist institutions and traditions." (12)

Indeed, such "prior existence" must include the capital accumulated in the tobacco trade that flourished before the American War of Independence by the Dunlop family, largely financed by that family's involvement in, and facilitated by the City's development of, iron and steel manufacturing. From this point of view there is some sense to considering the importance of families like Glassford, Spiers, Ritchie and Cunninghame - and in particular Dunlop. For Oakley, the Dunlops were the "fathers of the heavy industries" (13). Thus the names of Cunninghame and Dunlop appear both in 1854 and 1870 as among the top

coal owners in the West of Scotland, while in 1870, companies involving the Cunninghames straddled all the four counties of the region (14). \*

In spite of the problems in their use, what follows is a brief description of the social and economic character of Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century, drawn from secondary sources available.

The nineteenth century was a major period of growth, and decline and fall, of the cotton industry; it also saw the development of iron and coal industries; and it saw the rapid expansion of the ship-building industry.

Cotton and its related industries expanded rapidly in the first half of the century, reaching a peak in the mid-1850's. In 1818, for example, there were 52 cotton mills operating in Glasgow, while by 1854 the number of cotton factories had risen to 92, employing 24,000

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\* A brief digression provides some 'social character' to this. My research has noted from the "Daily Herald" of the 25th June 1870, among some reports of the City Improvements, how the 'careers' of some of the old Country Houses of the Glasgow Gentry also map the history of some of the main Glasgow families. Thus Whitehill House, a "fine old mansion" on the north side of Eastern Duke Street was built by John Glassford, "one of four young men who laid the foundation of the commercial greatness of Glasgow" and referred to "prominently" by Smollett in "Humphrey Clinker", around 1740. Having bought an estate in the suburbs, he sold the house in 1759 to John Wallace, who like himself, had been a Tobacco Baron. In 1782, Wallace sold Whitehill House to Nathaniel Gordon, a retired London merchant, who lived there until he died, whereupon the house passed into the hands of Robert Graham, "long one of the principal lawyers of Glasgow, and whose ancestors were merchants of note", and who became Glasgow's first Lord Provost, after the Reform of 1832. Before he died in 1851, he sold Whitehill House to another merchant, John Reid, from whom it passed to Alexander Dennistoun, "under whose auspices the fine new suburb of Dennistoun is rapidly forming on Whitehill".

workers. In 1857, however, the collapse of the Western Bank which financed the four biggest Glasgow firms involved in the sewed muslin industry heralded the industry's decline. Coupled with the failure of cotton supplies as a result of the American Civil War, this meant that even when imports began to flow again in 1866, the Glasgow cotton industry failed to revive.

At the same time, though, the potential in the development of indigenous mineral wealth was being scrutinised by Glasgow businessmen. Indeed, assisted by capital from the Glasgow business mandarins, the well known Glasgow iron works - among them the Clyde works which was owned by the Dunlop family - were all in production by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Further development of the cotton industry had been accompanied by an increase in shipping. Assisted by the development of the iron industry, and investment from the 'cotton barons', shipping developed as a major industry. As Hume suggests,

"Though Glasgow's reputation as a centre of heavy engineering and shipbuilding goes back to the early nineteenth century, the most rapid period of growth in these industries came after 1850." (15)

As Slaven comments,

"For 20 years from 1851 to 1870 the Clyde ship builders poured out the prodigious figure of over 70% of all the iron tonnage launched in Britain." (16)

Table A (over) summarises this situation.



TABLE A : Steam Tonnage Built in Great Britain  
and on the Clyde, 1812-1870  
(all tonnage in 000 tons)

PERIOD	BRITAIN	RIVER CLYDE	% CLYDE
1812-20	5.3	3.2	60
1821-30	30.5	4.2	14
1831-40	71.8	17.6	24
1841-50	122.6	81.4	66
1860-70	1084.3	798.4	66

Source : Slaven (17)

Such developments established the pattern for Glasgow's future industrial development. Thus while in 1871, Glasgow had some diversification of industry, it was predominantly a centre for heavy engineering.

In accordance with this rapid growth, the population of Glasgow increased dramatically. This increase included the influx of immigrants from the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, and such groups contributed significantly to the provision of cheap labour which fed the growing industries. Table B shows the increase in population in Glasgow from 1801 to 1891 (table B over).

The increase in population which is described in Table B exacerbated Glasgow's slum housing and overcrowding problems. The tenement building had become a feature of Glasgow before industrialisation, but by the mid-nineteenth century the increasing demand for housing brought about the construction of the 'back-lands', or

TABLE B : Glasgow Population 1801-1891  
and intercensal variations

Note: the figures relate to the area of the city as it was in each of the years specified.

Date of Census	Population	Intercensal Increase or decrease (-)	
		Amount	per cent per year
a	b	c	d
1801, March 9/10	81,048		
1811, May 26/27	108,788	27,740	2.93
1821, May 27/28	147,043	38,255	3.06
1831, May 29/30	202,426	55,383	3.25
1841, June 6/7	274,324	71,898	3.08
1851, March 30/31	344,986	70,662	2.36
1861, April 7/8	395,503	50,517	1.37
1871, April 2/3	477,732	82,229	1.91
1881, April 3/4	488,588	10,856	0.22
1891, April 5/6	565,839	77,251	1.48

(Source : Census)

tenements which were built in what had been the 'back greens' of already existing rectangles of tenements. This development created a block within a block, with a passageway of between three and five feet between the houses, effectively cutting off light and air and creating sanitation problems - the literature available contains many colourful descriptions of what was dumped in these passageways: it is best referred to however as "noxious substance".

Such additions to the housing stock did little to alleviate the

overcrowding which remained a major problem in Glasgow throughout the century. By 1871, population density had reached a peak, as is shown in Table C's summation of Butt's statistics.

TABLE C : Population, Land Area and Housing  
in Glasgow, 1851-1871

Census year	Total population	City acreage	Population density per acre	Percentage of families above inhabited houses
1851	329,096	5,063	63	2.62
1861	395,503	5,063	73	1.17
1871	477,732	5,063	94	5.60

Source: Butt (18)

In this situation, 41.3 per cent of all families lived in one-roomed ("single-ends") and 37.2 per cent of all families lived in two-roomed houses. Moreover, such was the demand for accomodation that 23 per cent of all families took in lodgers. Of such families, 20 per cent lived in one room, and 48 per cent in two rooms.

Legislative manouevres produced no adequate solution to the problem. The Glasgow Police Act of 1862, for example, did give the Medical Officer of Health powers to inspect property and to fix a limit of occupancy. Such property became known as "ticket housing" - a reference to the metal plate or "ticket" which was fixed to the door of the house to display the legal limit for occupancy. Once ticketed, houses could be inspected, or raided (19), at any time of the day or

night by Public Health Inspectors who had the power to bring charges against those found to be overcrowding "ticketed" houses. This measure was not accompanied by any programme of house building, however, and thus merely added to the harassment of the slum dweller.

Similarly, the apparent 'promise' of the City of Glasgow Improvement Act of 1866 must be qualified. This Act gave the Council power to buy land, under compulsory purchase if necessary, and to carry out slum clearances. The financing of the Scheme was to be met in part by the levying of a maximum rate of six pence in the £1 of rateable value in the first five years, and three pence in the £1 for the next ten years. The Improvement Trust, the trustees of which were the Council, was to run for fifteen years, although the rehousing of those "cleared" or displaced was to be left to private enterprise. While much slum property was cleared under this scheme, and while many in private enterprise were ready to capitalise on the need for working class housing, new building did not keep pace with demolition. Moreover, as the City Improvement Trust was carrying out its programme of demolition, railway development was claiming yet more land. The consequence of this was that, as inner city areas were "cleared", their dispossessed inhabitants were often forced into conditions of even greater overcrowding in adjacent areas. As an early account puts it,

"The consequence of these clearances was that former inhabitants of slums were dispersed to the outskirts

there to create new slum conditions, or forced into regions in the neighbourhood of cleared areas, making such regions more congested than before." (20)

Further, this situation provided the ideal climate for property speculation. One form of accommodation which met both the need to accommodate large numbers of the poor within the capacity of existing scarce resources, and the inclination of the private speculator to make as much money, for as little capital outlay as possible, was the "farmed-out house". Property owners rented out whole buildings to "house farmers", or specialist factors who subdivided the property so that each room became a "house". These "houses" were rented on a daily basis to labourers who were paid by the day. It was estimated that the gifted entrepreneur could make £300 per year from renting out houses in one farmed out tenement. (21)

The other significant response to the demand for accommodation was the "lodging house". In 1871, the City opened the first two municipal "model" lodging houses, and licenced more than 60 private ones. Harvey comments that "models",

"remain a monument to Victorian industry, careful planning and a desire to have everybody organised." (22)

Certainly the term "model" itself was intended to signify the setting of standards of hygiene and relative comfort, by contrast to the poor conditions which existed in the cheap "common" lodging houses. On the other hand, even a brief examination of the City's interest in lodging houses establishes clearly that this interest was concerned mainly to



regulate the activities of certain groups, viz., "mendicants, labourers, strangers and other persons." (23) Noteably, it was the "Superintendent, Lieutenant, or other officer of police" who was responsible for the operation of the lodging houses. As Butt points out, the Corporation lodging houses of the 1870's insisted on, "morality, sobriety, cleanliness, order and discipline" (24).

The common feature of both municipal and private housing was that of 'social control'. In the "farmed-out" house, for example, the poor were left at the mercy of the landlord, who, when they left, would give them a "line", showing that they had been good rent-payers and acceptable tenants. This "line" would assist them in getting accomodation in another "farmed-out" house. If a poor person had rent arrears, or had displeased the landlord in any way, the landlord might withhold the line, and in the face of fierce competition for housing, this seriously limited the poor person's chance of finding another place to live. Not only that - examination of the application schedules of 1871 in my research, and the Poor Law Inspector's 'margin notes', suggests that the possession or otherwise of such a "line" was pertinent to the decisions made about applications for Poor Relief. The operation of the housing market in nineteenth century Glasgow, then, contained elements of social control, both formal and informal.

Noteably, the social control aspects of the housing situation included the sleight of hand whereby, not only were moralist labels

ascribed to a certain housing population, but also these labels were the basis for the explanation and treatment of this population's distress - a distress which was in fact structural in origin and concerned the rapid growth of an urban population, and the failure to begin any housebuilding programme until late in the century. The reputations for moral inferiority gathered from living in dilapidated, overcrowded and insanitary areas (25) were used in the Glasgow of the mid-nineteenth century as criteria in the management of the inhabitants of such areas.

It is noteworthy that the notoriety of nineteenth century Glasgow's "dreadful enclosures" has almost become the history of the Glasgow poor. While Daimier points to the effects of stigmatised residency on the attitudes of residents, it would appear that many of the chroniclers of Glasgow have internalised the labels and definitions of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie.

Such labels certainly add colour to "narrative" approaches such as that of Daiches. Thus, commenting on the overdue clearance of the area around the Old College, by 1866, he describes the area as

"Dilapidated and overcrowded, it included the notorious Vennel and Havannah slums, inhabited by rag dealers, thieves prostitutes and receivers of stolen goods." (26)

Such description allows Daiches' narrative to sympathise with student sensibilities in that the College had been "forced to abandon" its evening law classes,

"because each evening the air was thick with the sound of human screams and policemen's rattles, and it was felt improper that students should have to walk to the College past a parade of prostitutes." (27)

Rhetoric and prose style which can report the "evening air" to be "thick" with various ingredients owes much to the ethnography of the recently discovered Shadow, whose sketches of Glasgow "underlife" include a description of the Tontine close where,

"nearly every stone of the narrow pavement on which we tread is stained with blood, and the black walls on either side of us silent witnesses to unrecorded crime." (28)

and of King Street where he hears not only "the idiotical jeer and senseless laugh of drunkards" as they continue in their "quest of their miserable homes", but also

"the horrid oaths and imprecations of low prostitutes - carrying their loathsome figures about with offensive boldness - flushed with drink, and bloated with disease." (29)

The only alternative of which narratives can conceive is to look on the "bright side". Thus Daiches finds it

"important to remember both that the nineteenth century Glasgow tenement at its best represents a distinctive and impressive style of architecture and that this style.... produced streets of real character and dignity." (30)

Issues of social class do not constrain such optimism, and in the next paragraph, Daiches is enjoying describing a villa in Pollockshields, the style of which "is quite sui generis", and, as he quotes Gomme and Walker, "irrepressively gay, happy and lighthearted without being frivolous" (31). Optimism of this sort allows Checkland to follow a

comment on the "insoluble" problem of "social decay" by reasoning that,

"Because of the diversity of conditions within the city, Glasgow produced a rich variety of human types. One of these was the 'wee bauchle', a man of little more than five feet in height.... But having come through the perils of infant diseases, such a man, with his immunity against germs, his slum sharpened wit.... has a high survival capacity." (32)

Secondly, the notoriety of the nineteenth century Glasgow slums also informs those inspired by a liberal sympathy. Butt's sympathies are with the inhabitants of the city centre where, by 1851, there was "an unhealthy overcrowded ghetto", where

"Destitution, poverty, criminality, prostitution, child beating, pawn broking, drunkenness, shebeens, illicit distillation,..... flourished." (33)

Such accounts have in common with the first group the problem that, as Roach and Roach observe, concentration on a

"description of the characteristics of the poor can preclude serious consideration of how the overall functioning of society has excluded certain categories of the population from its general prosperity." (34)

In fact, the thrust of many Glasgow histories is merely to celebrate the undoubted squalor and misery of the poor. Few histories develop the implications of observations like those of the Shadow that when he "glided" from the depths of the "horror of the closes" towards "the stately streets and gorgeous squares of the city", he was struck by the

"piles of architectural beauty and magnificence.... the gorgeous arch and the 'solemn temple', all strikingly suggestive of invidious contrast." (35)

My summary of Glasgow's industrial structure in the nineteenth century and my account of the accomodation of the City's poor in such a structure might well be concluded by noting the Shadow's observation that the "damp cellars and fever nurseries of the poor" were contexted in a "centre of princely wealth".(36)



## CHAPTER 2

The Glasgow Poor in 1871 : Data and Analysis

The first part of this chapter describes the organisation and content of the empirical data considered in this thesis. Importantly it will be shown that the methodological issues involved in the analysis of these data were focused by three interrelated problems : namely,

- (i) problems of sampling, given the original collation of the data,
- (ii) problems concerning the geographical boundaries of the Glasgow Poor Law's administrative districts, and (iii) problems concerning missing data.

Taken together, these problems introduced a further, if familiar, methodological dilemma for this thesis. This dilemma is that between, on the one hand, the importance of a study being as generalisable as possible, and on the other, the need to obtain as 'clean' a data set as possible before hypotheses might be tested properly. In other words, like many historical studies, given the condition of the archival data, the formulation of this thesis faced the problem of choosing between an attempt to make statements about the Scottish Poor Law which could be

generalised to other areas of Glasgow, or other urban centres, and the need to construct as complete a sampling frame as possible, to draw as representative a sample as possible, and to avoid blurring potentially important differences in the day-to-day administration of the Poor Law.

It shall be demonstrated below that the nature of the archival sources allowed little flexibility in addressing this dilemma. As a result, this study focuses on one particular administrative district within the working of the Glasgow Poor Law, and draws a large sample of 896 cases from the applications for Poor Relief made in 1871 in this district.

The second part of the chapter employs these data to provide something of a 'profile' of the Glasgow Poor in this area in 1871. Importantly, this profile will be compared with both the accounts of the urban poor offered by their contemporaries, and the perceptions of the nineteenth century poor afforded by many Scottish historians. As shall be argued, whereas the moralisms of the former and the historical practice of the latter led both to view those individuals who engaged with the Poor Law as, inevitably, a disabled, "feckless" lumpen proletariat, the data of this study provide a rather different picture

of the Poor in at least one part of nineteenth century Glasgow.

(1) Data on the Glasgow Poor

The data set consists of application schedules for Poor Relief.

The nature of these schedules, and the machinery for their collection and collation in Glasgow was laid down soon after the Amendment Act of 1845 (1). Dr Adams, who took up the post of Chief Inspector of the City Parish of Glasgow on 1st November 1847, was closely involved in the grass roots reorganisation of the Glasgow Poor Law in terms of the 1845 Act. As Nicholls summarised sections 55, 56, 57 and 58 Of that Act, in 1845 in each parish,

"The Inspector of the poor is to have the custody of all books, writings, accounts and other documents relating to the management of the poor, and is to make himself acquainted with the circumstances of each of the poor persons receiving relief, and keep a register of such persons and of the sums paid to them, and of all persons who have applied for and been refused relief, with the grounds of the refusal; and he is to visit and inspect personally, 'at least twice in the year.... at their places of residence, all poor persons belonging to the parish in receipt of parochial relief....' But in populous and extensive parishes, the duties of inspecting.... the poor may be performed by assistant inspectors, for whose conduct and accuracy the inspector of the poor is nevertheless responsible to the board of supervision...." (2)

Yet Dr Adams wrote in 1848 that he had found, on his appointment, the arrangements for investigating the claims of the poor,

"so irregular, conflicting and otherwise faulty, as to require various and immediate action". (3)

Part of such irregularity he saw as originating from the lack of bureaucratic machinery. He observed that, at his appointment,

"The orders for interim aid granted by the Assistant Inspectors were paid by no one in particular; no check existed to show that the party represented in the order was the applicant, or had been visited or examined by the party who had granted it.... It was no uncommon practice for an Inspector to charge his pockets with silver previous to entering on his rounds, and.... he required but to hand over to the party who furnished it, a corresponding amount of orders...." (4)

Part of Dr Adams reorganisation of this system meant that an official, based in Parochial Board premises (i.e. an In-door Inspector), was given the exclusive charge of the record of applications made at his office by the poor themselves. These applications the In-door Inspector allocated to various Poor Law administrative "districts" on a daily basis, and each morning, he passed these applications to the District Assistant Inspectors who had to sign for them (5). Thereupon, according to printed instructions furnished to each Assistant Inspector (see Appendix 1), all applicants for Parochial Relief were seen and their claim examined at their places of residence, and,

"all essential particulars taken down in pencil jottings at the paupers' residences, the Inspectors return to the office in the evening and enter the particulars of each case in their Monthly Report Books...." (6)



16762

APPLICATION FOR RELIEF.

B. 54693 Hour and Date of Application, 11.45 A.M. 11<sup>th</sup> February 1869  
 Name of Applicant, John Park  
 Residence, 15 Havannah  
 Place of Birth, 77 Old Wynd - Mother at said New Quay  
 Hour and Date of Inspector's Visit to Applicant's Home, 9.50 A.M. 12<sup>th</sup> February 1869  
 Condition, Single Age, 28 Occupation, Labourer  
 Average Value of Weekly Earnings, if any, ✓  
 Wholly or Partially Disabled, Religious Denomination, Protestant  
 Disability, Bronchitis  
 Names and Ages of Dependants,

Further Information to enable Parochial Board to decide case. Names of Children not Dependants, Earnings, &c.

Pauper is the <sup>illegitimate</sup> son of John Park, a Baker, dead, and of Elizabeth Hannah, who resides at 41 Havannah

of previous Application, if any, First Settlement, Glasgow  
 Remarks, See parents report in district, 4 volume 2 page 45  
 Settlement



# PARTICULARS OF SETTLEMENT.

		YEARS.
In 15 Savannah	Glasgow	"
" 77 Savannah	do	3
" 78 <sup>th</sup> Regiment		4
" 77 New Vennel	Glasgow from	
69 Admitted to Poorhouse 7/5/69	Left House	
H 133 2 <sup>nd</sup> John. 12/10/71	John Park reappears from	
unel, being unfit from "Catarrh"	vis 5 <sup>th</sup> John. 12	
71 poorhouse sent in	10/11/72 left	
1993. 11. 20 AM. 19/11/72	John Park admi	
house from 81 New Vennel, Mrs Pol		
"art disease" Dr. Lethian vis 11. 5 AM. 20		
3 <sup>rd</sup> ward in 8/4/73	left Poorhouse at own request	
126. 2. 5 P.M. 22/1/75.	Application m	
John Park from 75 Brunswick St.	certific	
Paradise enlargement by D. MacKay.		
visited on the evening of the 23 <sup>rd</sup> . Bro. who 2/		
" 11 30 am 25/1/75	when I ascertained he	
wanted nothing more, but removal to H		
wanted Medical relief line, & Report l		
P.M. 26/1/75	visited again pauper appe	
re to be worse - granted order for 2/6		
dying house keeper wants him removed. He		
wants into Hospital; but this I cannot a		
w D. MacKay's certificate date 26/1/75.		
1/75 poorhouse sent sent 10/3/75	Left House 12/1	

While this system was designed to allow officials like Dr Adams to gauge the "capabilities, tact, accuracy, and the extent of duty performed by each of (their) Assistants" (?), this system also provided the basis of the organisation of data to be analysed in this thesis. From the monthly report books described by Dr Adams, the schedules were bound in volumes covering six month periods (May - November : November - May).

Rather than a new schedule being produced for each of a poor person's applications, however, subsequent applications were appended to the initial one; i.e. the first application, which was collated with the others in the six month period in which it was made, was "up-dated" by the addition of subsequent applications (see Figure 1 - two sheets). While each volume contains, therefore, schedules for those individuals who applied for the first time in that particular six month period, in addition to all their subsequent applications, the total number of applicants in any six months is made up of three groups:

- (i) those people who are applying for the first and only time in those six months;
- (ii) those people who make several applications in that six months but whose first application still falls within that period;

- (iii) those people who do make an application in that six month period but whose first application was made some time in the past, and whose application schedule pertaining to the six months of interest is collated with the individuals first application, in another volume.

To construct a sampling frame for any one year, therefore, poses the difficulty that while the first two groups of application schedules are easy to locate, to locate the third group, in the absence of any coherent indexing system (8), involved examining all the preceding volumes, and extracting all applicants who went on to make a subsequent application in the period of interest. While this method was extremely time-consuming, any under-representation of the third group would bias results. In particular, the length of time for which an applicant was in receipt of Poor Relief perhaps was a variable influencing the outcome of his or her application. On the one hand, it could have been that a 'history' of applications, or a 'career in the system' might have suggested to the Poor Law official that the applicant had the status of a 'lifer', and that by making a habit' of applying for Poor Relief, was "disreputable", and should be discouraged. On the other hand, it could be that the grass-roots administrators of the system interpreted the existence of a case history as showing that at some point in the past the applicant had

been accepted as eligible for relief, and was thus more likely to be found so again.

Moreover, the record of applications was collated on the basis of certain administrative districts. A Minute of the Parochial Board of the City of Glasgow, in 1846, describes how,

"From the rapid increase of Pauperism in the City Parish of Glasgow, it has been considered expedient, for the more efficient inspection and management of the Poor, that the City Parish should be divided into six Divisions or Districts, and an Assistant Inspector appointed to each District." (9)

The Minute goes on to provide a detailed account of the parameters of these districts. Due to shifts in population over the years, however, these administrative boundaries were moved. Unfortunately, the documentation of such shifts has not survived. Dr Adams complained of the inefficiency of the five divisions of the City Parish which meant that

"labour was ill apportioned, and the Inspectors often required to visit the poor of each others Wards, which rendered it difficult.... to trace any dereliction or partial neglect...." (10)

And as a consequence, Adams noted how

"The Parish was.... carefully divided into eight Districts, agreeably to their ascertained amount of pauper population, thus apportioning to the Assistant Inspector placed in charge of each, an equal amount of labour." (11)

Unfortunately, Dr Adams "Observations" offers no details of either the five or eight districts; nor is there any record of such divisions

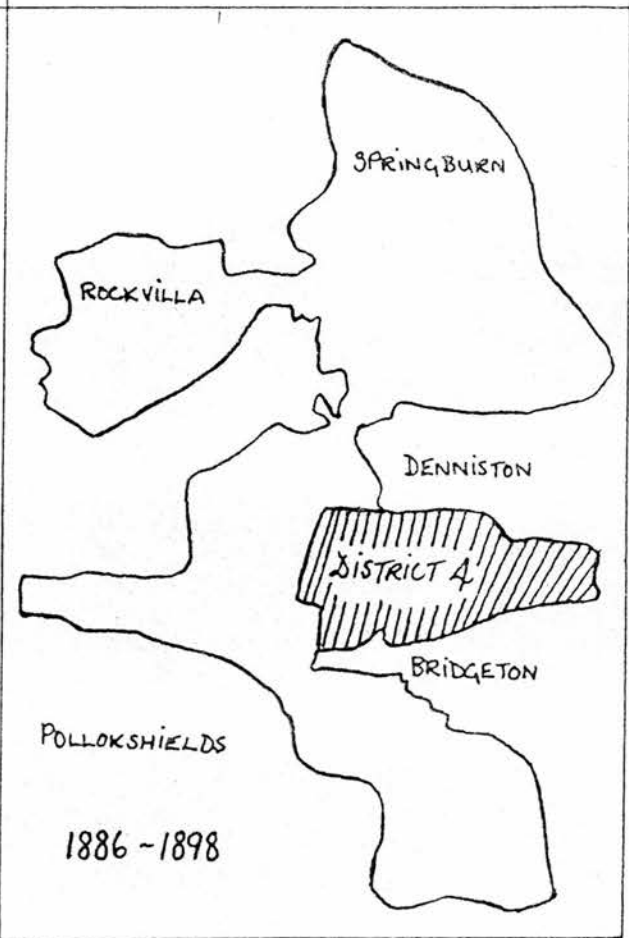
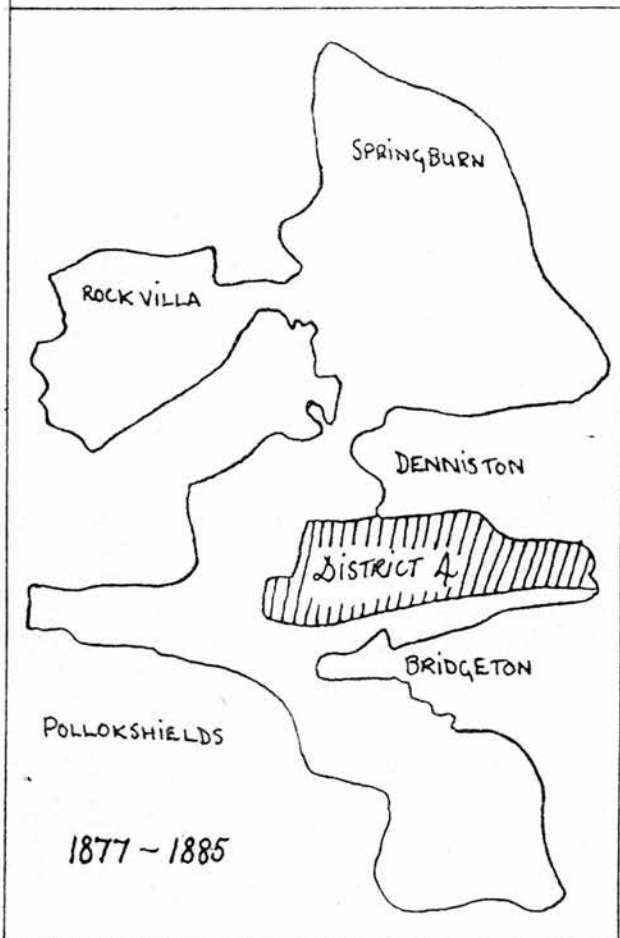
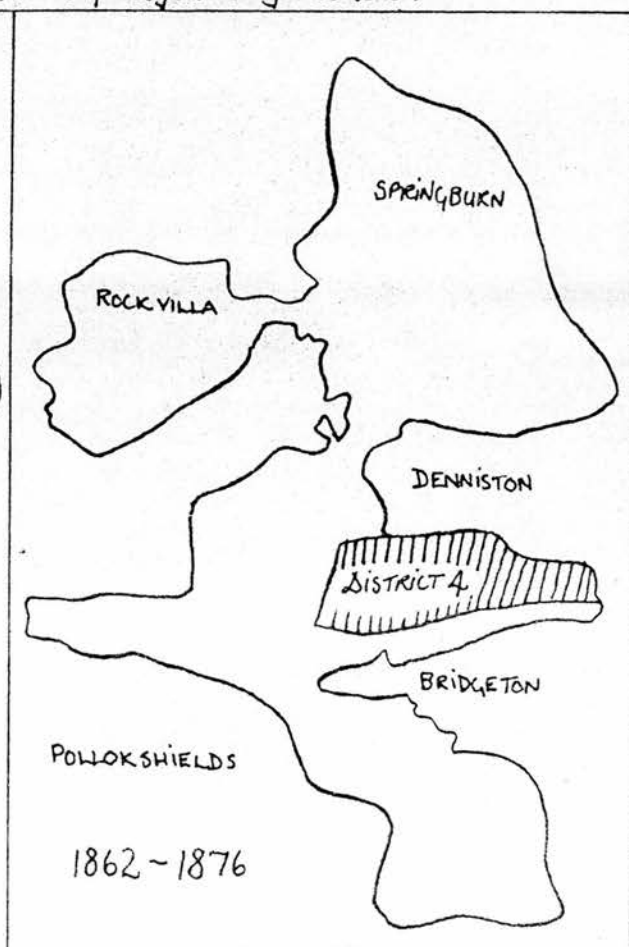
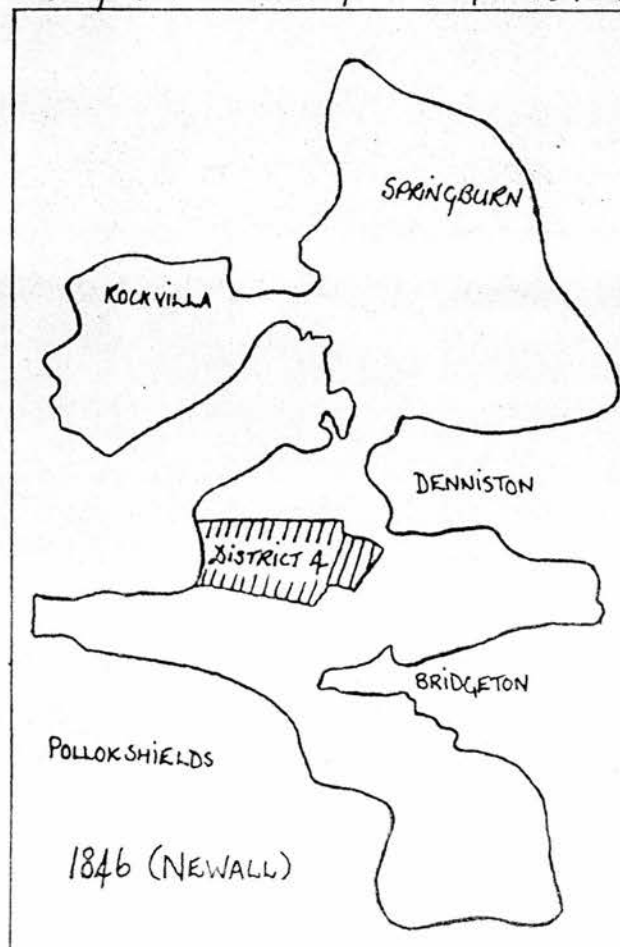
in other Parochial Board Minutes (12).

Examination of the application schedules themselves, however, suggests that by the mid-nineteenth century, the City Parish administered Poor Relief in six districts (13). This exercise consisted of charting the addresses of applicants for Poor Relief in all six districts from the application schedule volumes, and as 'new' addresses appeared, they were recorded chronologically using a colour coding. The patterns which emerged showed changes in all districts over the period 1861 - 1898, District 4 being the one which changed least and least often (see Map 1).

The boundaries of District 4 as documented in 1846 by Newall were redefined in 1862, when the administration district moved from the west to the east side of the City Parish. These new boundaries, detailed in Map 2, below (page 84), had extended, by 1876, to include part of the Trongate in the south, and northwards taking in Candleriggs, Bell Street, Shuttle Street, and part of George Street to the north boundary of Duke Street. This extension lasted until 1886 when the district changed shape again and the whole southern boundary was lowered to coincide with the boundary of the City Parish itself, running along Great Hamilton Street to David Street.

These changes which took place after 1862, however, do not represent major shifts in the location of District 4, being confined





to relatively minor expansions and contractions. Methodologically, this relative continuity in administrative boundaries was considered essential in this study of the day-to-day administration of the Scottish Poor Law.

A third methodological issue is that of missing data. None of the Poor Law Districts of the City Parish of Glasgow has a complete data set for the period 1850 - 1898. While the problem of missing data is a common one in historical research, gaps in the data set (or missing volumes in this case) not only interfere with the statistical information covered apparently by a particular volume, but also interfere with descriptions, or profiles, of 'future years' - which as we have seen depend upon locating 'long-term' applicants by examining all past volumes.

As a means of gaining some estimate of the length of time poor people spent in the Poor Law 'system', a projection exercise was carried out in that district which offered the longest, uninterrupted set of data. In a sample of 1200 cases drawn from the total of approximately 12,000 applications made in District 4 in the period from 1861 until 1881, inspection of each poor person's pattern of applications suggested that most 'pauper careers' within the Poor Law spanned no more than a ten year period. Of the six administrative districts, District 4 offered the 'cleanest' set of data from this point of view,

1861 - 1881, with 1871 a good mid-point (and suggesting the possibility - not dealt with in this study - that further research might usefully monitor changes in the operation of the Poor Law in the subsequent ten year period, up until 1881). This is shown in Figure 2(a) below.

FIGURE 2(a)

City Parish Poor Law Districts : Data set from application  
schedule volumes.

Clear runs: 1861 - 1882

District 1:	1859 - 1866
	1870 - 1875
	1877 - 1882
District 2:	1863 - 1881
District 3:	1863 - 1868
	1869 - 1870
	1874 - 1875
	1878 - 1883
District 4:	1861 - 1881
District 5:	1869 - 1870
	1877 - 1881
District 6:	1865 - 1869
	1870 - 1877

NOTE: while District 6 offers an earlier point of entry for analysis, the missing volume for 1870 was deemed serious given indications from the projection exercise that the ten year span of the pauper career clustered round the year of interest.

While these methodological problems have resulted in a very focused study, rather than one which invites easy generalisation, the methodology used did produce a very large sample of 896 applications in 1871. Indeed, the projection exercise outlined above estimates that this sample represents well over 90% of the total population of applications for Poor Relief in this year. It should be pointed out that each stage of the preparatory work which eventually made it clear that the reconstruction of 1871 might be attempted in District 4 was

very labourious and time-consuming. Moreover, it took upwards of six months to draw the sample of 896 cases (the rate of progress being hindered by the need to commute to the Glasgow archives, and the cumbersome size and condition of the 20 volumes which made up the sampling frame!)

In terms of the sample as a whole, 543 cases out of 896, or 60.6% of the sample, made the first application in 1871 itself, while 353 cases, or 39.4%, made a first application some time before 1871, and then reapplied in 1871. This confirms that a restriction of the study to the volumes labelled '1871' alone (or 543 cases) would have neglected more than a third of the applications made in 1871 from people who had first sought relief from the Poor Law authorities some time before that date. Of this last group, the pattern of applications for Poor Relief evident in the sample tends to substantiate the projection estimates, shown above, that most first applications clustered round any year of interest, in this case 1871. In other words, of those poor people who made an application in 1871, having already made their first application in a year before 1871, 240 applications, or 67.99%, had made this prior application in the period from 1866 - 1870. Again, however, the rather labourious reconstruction exercise is justified in that without it the sample would have failed to represent 113 applications, or 12.6% of the total sample of 896 cases, composed of those applicants referred to as 'lififers', above - who had spent longest within the Poor Law. Figure 2(b) summarises this profile of the sample data.

FIGURE 2 (b)The Composition of the Reconstruction of 1871

<u>First Applications</u>	<u>Number of Cases (% )</u>
1861 - 1865	113 (12.61)
1866 - 1870	240 (26.78)
1871	543 (60.60)
TOTAL	896 (99.99)

The data set which will be considered in this thesis therefore consists of as comprehensive a 'picture' as possible of applications for Poor Relief in District 4, in 1871, obtained by reconstructing that year from the records of application schedules of the period 1861 - 1871.

Now the chapters which follow this one, particularly chapters 3 and 4 are concerned to understand the day-to-day operation of the Poor Law - who was relieved ? and what kind of relief was given ? - in terms of how this operation 'organised', and 'made use' of two particularly strong image clusters of the ideological field of the latter part of the nineteenth century, namely - the family and the parish, or collectively, "the beau ideal" (14). This means, in other words, that I am as much concerned that certain 'questions' were seen as relevant in the assessment of the pauper's eligibility, as I am about his or her 'answers' to these questions. At the same time, it is appropriate to discuss the 'answers' furnished by applicants for several reasons. Firstly, these answers provide a statistical profile, not only of the applicants, but of the data of this study. Secondly, as a preparation



for a consideration of the positive and negative images surrounding debates about poverty and the poor in Victorian Glasgow, some notion of the empirical nature of Poor Relief is essential. Thirdly, to draw a 'picture' of the population in receipt of Poor Relief in a part of Glasgow in 1871, is of relevance, it will be argued, to our doubts about the 'triumphalist' nature of Scottish history. It will be suggested that the importation of aspects of what I have referred to above as the social administration tradition has led many Scottish historians to imply a particular description of the Victorian Poor, a description which may be compared with the profile of a sizeable group of the Poor in at least one part of nineteenth century Glasgow.

(2) The Glasgow Poor (District 4)

It is important to note that the population of poor people described by the schedule data is of a special kind, viz., those poor who were dealt with by the Poor Law Board. The apparent tautology of this statement is removed when one considers that parishes in the nineteenth century left the treatment of the recidivist mendicant, as I have suggested, to the police - the 'treatment' was informed largely by the desire to propel such persons into the adjacent parish. Thus the Poor Law data represent a 'net' through which an inestimable number fell.

At the same time, of the 896 applications which have been

'reconstituted' as the applications for 1871, in District 4, few were refused relief. This may have been due to the 'common knowledge' of both the paucity of relief and of the difficulty of satisfying standards of eligibility, which would have discouraged some potential applicants. It was more likely due to the fact that, having received an application, it was difficult for the Parochial Board to refuse relief for two reasons. Firstly, as a test case soon after the 1845 Act had established, the Inspector of Poor was criminally liable in the event of the death of an applicant who had been refused relief. Secondly, on refusal the applicant had recourse to an appeal to the Sheriff, and as Select Committee Reports suggest, Parochial Boards found it more expensive to contest such appeals than it was to relieve the applicants in the first place.

While such considerations cannot be ignored, the Royal Commission, Select Committees, Central, and Local Boards, do signal a Poor Relief 'industry' of a very real kind. It is to this industry, moreover, that traditional Scottish history has addressed its assessments of the degree of 'welfare' afforded by the New Poor Law. Therefore, while we must remain clear about the limits of our generalisations, the schedule data can provide a statistical profile of a significant group among Glasgow's 'poor' in the second half of the nineteenth century.

## A Picture of the Poor

Much of the study which follows this chapter is concerned with the clusters of powerful social images which, as I have argued above, all ideologies contain at their heart. In particular, I shall consider the cultural hegemony constituted by those forceful images which sanctified peace and order throughout the nineteenth century and during a period which saw the total immiseration of large sections of Scottish working people, namely, the images of the Scottish family and the Scottish parish. At the same time, if these images were the source of positive and forceful emotional appeal, they were accompanied, as I shall suggest in subsequent chapters, by a malevolent negative. In general terms, this negative set of image clusters concerned the nineteenth century "fear of the ..... criminal and potentially riotous" classes (15), a fear which, as Moorhouse suggests, was "always underlying and informing" (16) the ruling group's activities.

It is of interest at this stage then to consider how far the data of this study compare with these notions. Were the poor of at least one part of nineteenth century Glasgow the "folk devils" (17) which conventional accounts made them out to be? Certainly the scrutiny and evaluation which many Scottish historians have made of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845 would lead us to expect that the poor in this sample would indeed be composed of the feckless and dissolute. While

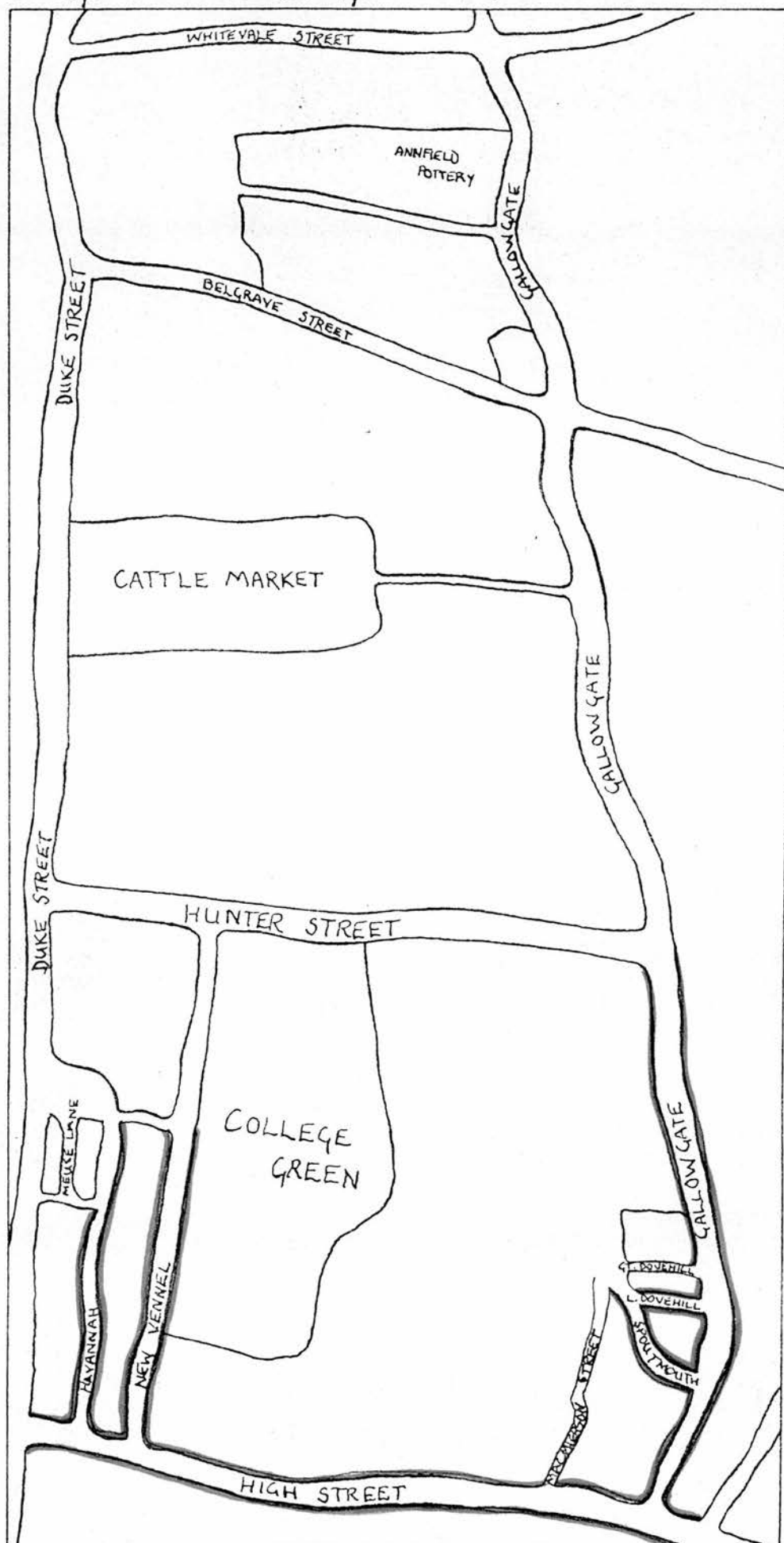
a detailed analysis will be given in chapter 5, it is pertinent to note here that the legal position after the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845 was that able-bodied working class men and women were excluded from Poor Relief. This clause in the Act has led those Scottish historians equipped with the standards and assumptions available in the twentieth century welfare state to comment that the New Scottish Poor Law "left a gap in social provision" (18), that it was "not an answer to the problem of destitution" (19), or that it was "partly a failure" (20). The implication of these accounts is that the Act debarred the industrial poor from engagement with the Poor Law authorities. How does the profile afforded by this study compare with this view? Did the Poor Law in fact engage with only a 'sub-proletariat' of disabled, and under-represent the industrial working class?

Table 1 provides some general background of the kind generated by the Edinburgh Board of Supervision's keenness for statistical data, shown in its Annual Reports.

TABLE 1 : Registered Poor in Glasgow City Parish 1846 - 1871

Year	Total Parish population (census)	Parish Poor Male Poor	Population Female Poor	Total
1846	120,183 (1841 census)	940	2514	3473
1861	157,909	1615	4507	6122
1864	-	1879	4634	6513
1869	-	2046	4123	6169
1871	170,553	2292	4183	6475

(Source: Board of Supervision Annual Reports)





The data in table 1 serves the purpose of contextualizing the data for District 4. While the information it gives on the increase in the population of the City Parish as a whole is not directly relevant, however, it is interesting in terms of, for example, the District 4 data on 'Place of Birth' and 'Settlement' (see below).

While table 2 suggests a slight over-representation of males in District 4, as compared to the figures for the Parish as a whole, this study has not produced any hard evidence which might account for this difference. That District 4 included the notorious slum areas of the Vennel and Havannah (see map 2), and a number of lodging houses, however, might partly explain this over-representation, as might the significant numbers of Irish applicants, as shown in table 5, below.

TABLE 2 : The Poor Population - Sex Composition of the City Parish and District 4 of the City Parish, 1871

	City Parish Poor	District 4 Poor
Male	2292 (35.4 per cent)	382 (42.6 per cent)
Female	4183 (64.6 per cent)	514 (57.4 per cent)
	<hr/> 6475	<hr/> 896

The poor relieved in District 4 in 1871, moreover, had the following demographic characteristics. Firstly, table 3 (see below) shows that 38.5 per cent were single, and 18.9 per cent were married. The category, "divorced/widowed/etc." reflects a feature of the operation of the Poor Law which will be treated as significant in Chapters 3 and 5,

below, namely, a lack of differentiation within the important status of people, particularly women, 'on their own' and outwith the supervision of the family unit; and in addition, a significant trend, discussed in chapter 5, to use this category as a rationale, albeit a strictly illegal one, for offering Poor Relief on the grounds of a 'social disability'.

TABLE 3 : Applications by marital status

	Number of applications	%
Single	345	38.5
Married	169	18.9
Divorced/Widowed/etc.	313	34.9
(Child)	(69)	(7.7)
TOTAL	896	100.0

Secondly, the age range shown in table 4 suggests that the majority of applicants were at around what was seen as a 'working age'.

TABLE 4 : Applications by age

	Number of applications	%
Under 14 years	70	7.8
15 - 64 years	744	83.0
Over 64 years	82	9.2

Further, Census information affords comparison of the place of birth of the District 4 applicants for Poor Relief with the place of birth of the population as a whole. Table 5 summarises this comparison.

TABLE 5 : Place of Birth - the Glasgow Population and the  
Poor of District 4

Place of Birth	Glasgow Population		District 4 Poor	
	Number	%	Number	%
Glasgow	226,115	47.4	317	35.5
Scotland	164,733	34.5	242	27.1
England & Wales	14,500	3.0	12	1.4
Ireland	68,300	14.3	317	35.5
Others	3,478	0.7	4	0.5
Totals	477,156		892	

While these figures suggest an 'over-representation' of the Irish born in the population of District 4 poor, further analysis of our data provides an interesting qualification: the 'settlement' of the applicants or 'parochial registration', discussed above, and again in chapter 5, is shown in table 6. From this it is clear that the majority of applicants had Settlement within the City Parish, or more exactly, had achieved Settlement by residing in the City Parish for the required number of years.

TABLE 6 : Applications by Settlement

		No. of applications	%
Glasgow:	City	487	59.6
	Barony	61	7.5
	Govan	7	0.8
	Gorbals	2	0.2
	Central and Southern Scotland	103	12.6
	Highlands	15	1.8
	England and Wales	7	0.8
	Ireland	128	15.7
	Others	7	0.8
	Total	817	99.8

(Missing values = 79)

A comparison of tables 5 and 6 displays some movement in figures:

thus while the number of 'Irish born' account for some 30-odd per cent of the poor in District 4, the number of poor who claim 'settlement' in Ireland is only 15 per cent; similarly, while the number of Scots born outside Glasgow (many of them Highlanders) makes up 27 per cent of the poor population, only 12.6 per cent from central Scotland and a mere 1.8 per cent of Highlanders claim 'settlement' in their 'home' parishes.

The 'movement' of these figures, in fact, demonstrates a 'stability' viz., many immigrants to the City Parish had achieved registration in the parish by residing there for the required number of years. This suggests many things, although all of them about a very small part of Glasgow - yet while any conclusions are therefore limited ones, they are, as far as these things are possible, 'guaranteed' by the energy with which the City Inspectors of Poor checked up on settlement (see chapter 5). One thing that this suggests is that by 1871, in at least a part of Glasgow, the Highlanders, who according to other accounts had earlier migrated South, had more or less settled. Similarly, the 'invasion' of Irish labourers had very much calmed down. Both these groups had lived long enough in the parish to join with others who had made up the 60 per cent of applicants who could, by 1871, claim the City as their parish of settlement. Another point which informs what comes later is this: given that the legal temporal

requirement to achieve settlement was five years ( extended from three to put a stop to such 'invasions'), by 1871 our 'picture' of the poor of District 4 is one of the majority of the parishioners having been living there for some time. This notion is part of the task which the imagery of the stable and settled Scottish Parish \* addressed: i.e. the celebration of the "rural idyll" (21) in the face of urban poverty.

The residential pattern of the poor in District 4 can also be indicated by a consideration of the schedule data. Analysis suggests that 42 per cent of all applicants were concentrated into the area (outlined in red) to the west side of the District, as is shown in Map 2. Much of this area was to be cleared in subsequent years as a result of the activities of the City Improvement Trust, and railway developments. The area was situated around the Old College which was to make way for the College Goods Station - as did the notorious Vennel and Havannah slums, from whose residents a large number of applications for Poor Relief were recieved.

Of the group of 312 "independent" relatives of the applicants, 206 lived in the City Parish, and followed similar residential patterns as the applicants themselves, i.e., clustering mainly in the areas in map 2 shown in red. This group of relatives consisted of 160 males and 152 females, of whom 119 were married, and 193 unmarried, widowed or separated.

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\* As we shall see, in chapter 4, one very popular form of Scottish literature of the late nineteenth century was that which depicted extremely stable 'northern' parishes, the inhabitants of which only ventured 'Sooth' long enough to amuse.



Having considered the group of poor relieved in District 4 in 1871, we have found them to be a mixed bag - although certain interesting features have emerged. While most of the applicants were single, some 19 per cent were married, with their spouse, when they applied for relief, and nearly one quarter had been widowed. Again, most were of working age, and most had residential stability in certain parts of the parish. We might add to this picture, that, to some extent applications for Poor Relief followed a 'seasonal' pattern, in that while 31.3 per cent of the applications for relief in District 4 were made in the 'winter' months, between December and February, the 'summer' time, from June to August, saw a decline to 19.4 per cent ('spring' and 'autumn' being about equal).

The 'picture' which is emerging then, is not one of the feckless, rootless 'residuum' which so obsessed nineteenth century commentators, and which many Scottish historians have been led to expect by their reading of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845. Two important aspects of this picture have still to be developed however: firstly, what do the data of this study tell us of the occupational structure of this group? Was it indeed as contemporaries supposed and the Law prescribed, that Poor Relief was concerned only with the denizens of a shadowy 'under-class', to the exclusion of 'honest independent labourers'? Secondly, do the data support the 'welfarist' evaluation employed by many Scottish historians that the New Poor Law 'failed' by excluding

the able-bodied workforce from relief? - i.e., was it the case in nineteenth century Glasgow that if you were poor, you could not get relief unless you were ill?

As I have suggested, there are echoes here which will be heard later in this study. Firstly, if the 'classes' were 'dangerous' in District 4 in the nineteenth century, their "folk-devilry" (22) cannot really be accounted for in terms of their lack of 'family' or 'community' ties: the poor in District 4 seem stable in both departments.

Secondly, as regards the Act 'failing' by excluding the able-bodied urban poor, by contrast, the data under scrutiny suggest that the single largest group to be relieved (20 per cent) were, in 1871, industrial workers (textiles); and to simplify an aspect of this study which is discussed more fully in chapter 5, you were as likely to receive some 'relief' at the hands of the Poor Law if you were not classified as ill as if you were so classified. Thus, as is shown below, while 'illness' accounts for 46 per cent of the applicants' 'eligibility', vague complaints and 'social' complications account for 32 per cent of the relief - and this does not include convalescence, old age or pregnancy.

I must emphasise that I am not, in this, attempting to counter a 'picture' of 'paucity' with one of 'plenty'; rather, I am suggesting

that the New Poor Law did have dealings with an able-bodied industrial proletariat in 1871 in Glasgow, and in this suggestion I am implying the question, further, what was the nature of these dealings?

To be cautious, however, it might be the case that 'my' group of poor conceals a hard core of recidivists. Lest my statements so far, then, are glosses on a darker picture, let us consider a 'sub-sample' of the reconstituted applications for 1871. Given that the 'mean' number of applications made by poor people was 7, I have considered the details of that group which made more than 7 applications as compared with the total group. Tables 7 and 8 show this comparison for 'type of disability' and 'occupation'.

TABLE 7 : Type of Disability - all applicants compared with those making more than 7 applications

Illne	<u>All applicants</u>		<u>More than 7 applications</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Illness	378	46.1	41	44.6
Pregnancy	31	3.7	4	4.3
Old age & youth	121	14.4	6	6.5
Convalescence	29	3.4	1	1.1
Social	134	15.9	18	19.6
Not easily classifiable	138	16.4	22	23.9
	840	99.9	92	100.0

From table 7, and table 8 (see below), two factors are of particular interest. Firstly, at a simple, empirical level, the data from District 4 do not seem to support notions that the New Poor Law excluded the

TABLE 8 : Occupation - all applicants compared with those making more than 7 applications

	All applicants		More than 7 applications	
	N	%	N	%
Agriculture and the Sea	8	1.0	-	-
Boot and Shoe Trade	27	3.3	4	4.5
Building	11	1.4	1	1.1
Clothing Trade	26	3.2	4	4.5
Coal and Ore	4	0.5	-	-
Craft	16	2.0	2	2.2
Domestic Service	20	2.5	1	1.1
Housewives	96	11.9	7	7.8
Labourers	127	15.8	20	22.5
Metal and Engineering	36	4.5	5	5.6
Miscellaneous Domestic Manuf.	73	9.1	11	12.4
Miscellaneous Factory Work	19	2.4	5	5.6
Miscellaneous Residual	113	14.4	8	9.0
Printing	9	1.1	2	2.2
Small Shopkeepers	14	1.7	-	-
Small Transport	15	1.9	1	1.1
Teaching, Clerical & Professional	1	0.1	-	-
Textiles	165	20.5	18	20.2
Wood and Furniture	16	2.0	-	-
Not Easily Classifiable	9	1.1	3	3.3
	805	100.0	89	99.9

NOTE

This grouping of occupations employs a 'horizontal' classification based on type of industrial sector. That the classification appears somewhat idiosyncratic is explained by the fact that it includes occupational groups which two pilot studies of 50 and 200 cases had suggested might be significant. In addition, I recorded each specific occupation contained in each broad sector, or 'class' (see appendix 4). The specific class of "miscellaneous residual" is derived from Stedman Jones's study of the "casual poor" of nineteenth century London (23)

able-bodied 'industrial' poor. Secondly, any notion that those on the poor roll were exotic in their occupational stature is not proven: after all in the aftermath of a cotton famine, workers, specially low-skilled textile workers tend to become poor.

To conclude this chapter, and to offer some 'flesh' to the skeleton of the Glasgow Poor provided by the tables and statistics above, I shall reconstruct a few 'case studies' of pauper careers, in District 4, using the 1871 schedules. Some points in these biographies should be noted once more. Firstly, to contend that the New Poor Law ignored the poor of an industrial centre restricts analysis - there is evidence in these examples of the use of a 'discretionary' area, which will be discussed fully in chapter 5. Secondly, the 'folk-devil' study (of the unidexter) is offered, not only as a little historical 'colour', but also as a significant contrast to the bulk of the cases. Few were like him: few were refused, few were as clearly handicapped. By contrast most were dealt with, and this chapter has tried to imply the need to ask questions, then, about 'how' and 'why' these poor were dealt with: these questions cannot occur in 'triumphalist' histories.



## The Case Studies

### 1. The Old Man

John Mc Millan made his first application for Poor Relief in April 1871, at the age of 70. He made seven subsequent applications between that date and July 1872 when he died in the poorhouse.

He was an Irish immigrant who lived at the same address in Blackfriars Street for 11 years and thus had settlement in the City Parish. He was married with three grown-up children all with families of their own by 1871 - and all living far from Glasgow. Despite their geographical distance their circumstances, including occupations, numbers of children and so on, are all recorded on Mr McMillan's application. In addition, his parent's occupations were recorded - although they had been long dead by 1871.

The first evidence that Jonh McMillan had fallen on hard times was, then, when he applied for relief having broken his leg. He was at this time, a foundry labourer, and had been off work for eight weeks when Inspector McConechie went to his home to assess his claim. He noted in his report that Mr McMillan "says he fell down a stair", and that he "has no society". The accusatory emphasis is the Inspector's, and his remark that Mr McMillan had "no society" can be understood as an implied moral reprimand that he had not had the prudence to save with an insurance company for the 'rainy day' when in old age, he should break his leg.

At this time Mr McMillan was living with his wife in one apartment, for which they paid 7s6d per month. His wife was a housewife, had no earnings and was 60 years old.

His claim on the Poor Law was assessed at 2s6d which sum he was paid on the 27th of April 1871. He received nothing else on the basis of this, his first application.

He applied again in June, from the same address, and this time was admitted to the poorhouse. He left at his own request on the 22nd of July, perhaps to be reunited with his wife, who did not appear as a dependent on his application - it is unlikely that she would have applied on her own behalf as quite careful cross-reference procedures were adopted and her application would have 'turned up' with her husbands<sup>!</sup>. In any event they would have been separated in the poorhouse.

Mr McMillan's third application was made in August, when he was suffering from "debility". Again he was admitted to the poorhouse where he stayed for another five weeks. This was obviously to be his 'relief' from now on - he need not have thought that he would receive 2s6d everytime he applied! This lack of funds may have been the reason that Mr McMillan had moved from his rented accomodation of 11years to lodgings with the Jones's in Spoutmouth. From here he made his fourth application and was acknowledged as being disabled through "old age". He spent another two months in the poorhouse, leaving five days before Christmas.

His last application in 1871 was made on Boxing Day, when he was taken in to the poorhouse, perhaps to recover from his over-indulgence during the festive season with the remainder of the 2s6d he had received in April - since when he had had not one penny.

John McMillan made three more applications for Poor Relief, which effectively kept him in the poorhouse until his death in July 1872. His 'career' within the institutional organisation of the Poor Law was typical of his age group in the study. Having worked at unskilled labour, which would have supported himself and his family but no more than that, he found himself in old age to be totally vulnerable - dependent on Poor Reief. In such cases outdooor relief was seldom given in 1871 and was never a realistic amount - John McMillan's 2s6d was typical. Thus, the aged poor were often destined to die in the poorhouse and be buried in paupers' graves: a process which some of the few socialist Scottish historians have described as "genocide".

## 2. The Deserted Wife

Mary Limerick was born in Ireland in 1834, and settled in Glasgow at the age of nineteen, having travelled around Scotland for some time, prior to so doing. She married, or had as her cohabitant (Inspector McConechie suspects the latter, from the tone of his remarks), a man named Reid, a casual labourer three years her senior. The couple had five children, which circumstance proved too much for Mr Reid, and early in 1871, he went away.

Mary was then left to make provision for herself and her young children - she was a sewer and even when in work she could only make 7/- per week, which did not go far in 1871 with rent to pay of 19/- per month

and eggs at 1s1d per dozen, butter at 1s4d per pound, and six mouths to feed.

She first made application in District 4 in July. She was not suffering from any physical disability and is listed by the Inspector as "deserted with children". His inquiries following her application revealed that she had been an inmate of Barnhill Poorhouse in March. Of this time she said that, she had stayed for eight days, that she was threatened with removal to Ireland, and that she was dismissed after these eight days with 5/-. As will be discussed, below, removal was seldom resorted to, but the threat would have seemed real to many paupers. In Mary's case, her settlement was not in question.

The outcome of this first application was an offer of the poorhouse which Mary refused - possibly as a result of her experiences in Barnhill. She again applied to be relieved in August, when Inspector McConechie observed that she was "still deserted". However, they now all had "fever" and in order to speed their recovery she was given 4/- on the 19th of August. She received no further payments and had to re-apply in September. At this time she and her children were "convalescing" from their fever, and were offered the poorhouse in which to continue this process. Again Mary Limerick refused - she and her children "did not come in". One month later she applied again, was assessed as being "burdened with children", was offered the poorhouse on the 7th of October, and "did not come in".

A few days later Mary made her last application in 1871. She was "still deserted" but Inspector McConechie had traced her husband - to America. He offered her the poorhouse and she 'did come in'. She and her children entered on the 17th of October 1871 - they left five months later on the 30th of March 1872.

Having at last come to terms with indoor relief the Limericks spent much of 1872 and 1873 in the poorhouse. The family then 'disappeared' for five years and made two more applications in 1879 before Mary presumably regained something of her 'independence' by being able to return to work in an unhindered capacity.

### 3. The Textile Worker

Robert Dunn was a textile worker, a 'heckler' to be exact! He was single, with one parent living, his father, who was a labourer. He first

applied for Poor Relief in April, from lodgings in Gallowgate, from where he was assessed as being disabled through "convalescence from fever". He was relieved in the poorhouse for six weeks and left at the end of May at his own request.

In June Robert contracted "influenza" and was visited at his new lodging in the High Street by the Inspector who offered him the poorhouse. He returned for another stay - this time of two months.

This pattern of short stays in the poorhouse was repeated six times in 1871 - with stays of between three weeks and two months alternating with similar periods in various lodgings. He 'suffers' from a variety of vague disablements, the only actual "illness" being "influenza" - he was listed as disabled through "debility" and at one stage in his career is "not well".

Like other paupers in this study John Dunn's history in the system has a pattern. His spanned eight years and thirty-two applications and he was never given any other form of relief than the poorhouse - nor was he ever refused relief no matter how vague the definition of his disability.

#### 4. The Fallen Woman

Mary Black was a mill worker aged twenty-three, pregnant and single when she entered the poorhouse on the 12th of May 1871. She had her baby there and left on the 5th of July, at her own request. She returned to her lodgings in Bridge Street, Calderbank. She may have been hoping that her cohabitant of recent times would return to her and their child. He did not, and five days later she was re-admitted to the poorhouse where she stayed for another three weeks. Again she left at her own request.

Her third application in 1871 was made from the Night Asylum, where she had gone for shelter with her child - she had been unable to pay her rent and had been evicted from her lodgings. This time she stayed in the poorhouse from the 8th of August to the 18th of September, when she left to go to lodgings in Middleton Place. Less than two weeks later she was back in the poorhouse where she stayed for three more months. In December she spent one week in lodgings in Kelvin Row from where she applied for relief for the last time in 1871 on Boxing Day and was again accommodated in the poorhouse with her baby, now about six months

old and suffering from whooping cough. The child died on the 21st of January 1872 - five weeks later Mary Black left the poorhouse.

In his notes Inspector McConechie observed that by mid-December 1871, Mary has been in the poorhouse ten times. Her first spell of applications followed a similar pattern to that described above, and occurred between January 1867 and April 1868. Her third and final series of applications lasted from April 1877 to February 1878. The pattern was repeated but this child survived the poorhouse.

## 5. A Shadow

John Wood was a nineteen year old tailor, who, at the time of his first application in District 4 in January of 1871 was of 'no fixed abode'. He had made prior applications in other districts - one in 1868 on his release from prison, one in 1869 and four in 1870.

His disability at the time of this first application in 1871 was that he had a "leg missing". The outcome of his application was an offer of the poorhouse which he took up on the 17th of January 1871. He left on the 14th of February for a spell in the police station, from where he was given three days or 5/- for assaulting the poorhouse clerk.

He applied again in February by which time Inspector McConechie had discovered that his settlement was 'Barony', and he refused to relieve him. At the end of February he applied again and was again refused - this time as being "able-bodied" ?

His final application in 1871 was made from the Night Asylum in March. He had contracted "venereal disease" - he was still refused. In May of 1872 he 'successfully' applied for relief and became an inmate of the City Poorhouse. He died there one month later at the age of twenty. The cause of death was not specified.



## CHAPTER 3

## The Domestic Community

Nineteenth century social policies - of which the Poor Law Amendment Act is an important instance - were formed in a complex ideological field within which several critical sets of images appeared again and again. Such images are central to this study. Many images 'attach' to basic social institutions which come to be represented in their idealised form by certain image clusters. These image clusters, as Hall et al have suggested (1) are important in understanding how certain ideologies came to carry conviction and win support, or rather, to become dominant. This happens when an ideology appears to "catch up", as Hall puts it, quite contradictory life and class experiences within its grand design. The images which cluster around certain ideologies facilitate this "catching up": in other words, such images assist the 'work' which an ideology does in translating into convincing 'ideological' terms the outlooks and interests of social classes and social groups who are not its authors. It is largely through these clusters, in other words, that support is won; legitimacy for particular policies established; and through these clusters too that the configuration of ideas we refer to as 'the dominant ideology' is held in place.

In this chapter, and the one which follows, I shall discuss two

such image clusters as they applied to the ideological field in which the reform of the Scottish Poor Law in 1845 was contexted. I shall conceptualise them as the related images of the domestic community, which corresponds to notions of 'familist ideology', and the local community, which corresponds to rhetoric about the Scottish Parochial System. I shall suggest also that each image cluster should be seen as having a 'shadow', or accompanying cluster of images which convey the inverse, or opposite, or, more exactly, the negative of positive social values. Taken together, these image clusters, positive and negative, constitute the ideological and rhetorical dimension of State intervention in the area of 'welfare' in the nineteenth century.

This chapter explains the imagery of the family, and begins by considering the importance of this imagery in the Victorian era.

#### The Domestic Community : the Victorian Ideal

Davidoff et al suggest that "ideals" of both "home" and "community" in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, provided a

"cognitive and moral map of the universe, as a response to the need for imposing order" (2).

In a period characterised by the growth of urbanisation and industrialisation, the "intense concern" of the middle class with the "domestic idyll" can indeed be understood as an ideology which

legitimised the traditional authority of the hierarchy of the 'ancien regime'. Davidoff et al quote Cassell who wrote:

"The Master: the Husband, the Father, the Head of the House, the bread winner is the responsible individual whose name and power upholds the household... He holds the highest place of honour; he is the supporter and sustainer of the establishment. He is also legally and politically responsible for all the other members of the family.... such are the duties of a master, a husband and a father." (3)

In addition to this reaction to new economic and demographic patterns, they suggest that the desire for stability reflected a fear of the doctrines which accompanied these changes. Alexander points out that the evangelicalism of the time,

"sanctified the family, along with industriousness, obedience and piety, as the main bulwark against revolution." (4)

Davidoff et al quote from a book written in 1841 which juxtaposed the traditional normative pattern encouraged by 'family life' with the upheavals going on in France, thus:

"Household authority is the neutral source of much national peace: its decline is one of the causes of the reckless turbulence of the people." (5)

As a refinement of the descriptive and analytical power of their concept of the 'domestic idyll', I propose to employ the concept of 'the domestic community'. This concept is used by the marxian anthropologist, Claude Meillassoux, to describe those elements of family structure which render the family not only a basic unit of social production in pre-capitalist societies, but also a social unit

encapsulated within all class societies.

The advantage of this conception is that it offers an understanding of 'the family' not only as a 'defensive' image shoring up the past; but also as a productive and creative image which performed essential ideological functions at that period of the development of capitalism which some historians describe as the 'dawn' of Scottish social welfare. First of all, the domestic community affords the State a point of entry into the sphere of social reproduction which is 'economical'. As a recent conference on socialist economics suggested,

"The costs of reproduction borne by the State would be infinitely greater, both if adequate socialised care were provided for all dependents, both children and others, that have remained women's responsibility within the family and if women were to receive equal State benefits in their own right." (6)

Secondly, in a situation of Welfare Capitalism, the family offers a classless point of reference for State intervention. As Meillassoux points out, traditionally, family structure is classless structure. Male elders have privilege and power, but not the privilege and power of class: power accrues to them by virtue of their ownership of the means of reproduction (food and women); not through their control of the means of production

Meillassoux's notion of the domestic community is one which can be addressed by the conception of ideology outlined above, in the introduction to this study. As I have pointed out, Althusser



construes hegemonic domination as the imposition of one class's ideology upon other classes by virtue of its control of ideological state apparatuses (like the family). By contrast, however, I have drawn from Gramsci's less 'mechanistic' view which stresses the importance of ideological struggle through which one class manages to 'co-opt' in support of its claims to moral and intellectual leadership, the bulk of a given society's social imagery. In the case of 'the domestic community', then, the perspective of this thesis qualifies notions of the family as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. Rather, in the case of 'the bourgeois family', this study refers to this subjectivity as 'bourgeois', not because it expresses the ideology of the bourgeois class, but because it arranges and 'clusters' a whole series of images and ideological fragments which assist the reproduction of capital relations but which, by themselves, are not necessarily bourgeois. The domestic community then, pre-dates, and has a conceptual status which is separate from, capitalism. Family images, however, within capitalism, articulate subjectivity and conceptions of the world in a way functional to the reproduction of social relations which are capitalist. As the Hunts point out, for example,

"the family, by desocialising and isolating its members within the home reinforces individualistic attitudes. Thus the ideology of the bourgeois family restricts class consciousness". (7)



Rather than construing the family and family ideology in industrial capitalism simply as social stabilizers which legitimate traditional authority therefore, Meillassoux's work can produce a more dynamic perspective in which the family is a social form directly and immediately appropriate for industrial capitalism: bourgeois society is basically molecular rather than atomistic in that it is composed of households which function as units of reproduction of labour power (8).

Moreover, Meillassoux's concept of the domestic community, with some adaptation, is particularly pertinent to an understanding of the discourse provided by the cluster of images which adhered to 'the family' in the development of the Welfare State. In this context, such images were important in establishing and consolidating the capitalist nature of the State. Such images were crucial, particularly, in establishing the legitimacy of the 'public face' of the State as a neutral arbitrator in matters of class conflict by providing in the nineteenth century, a series of flexible reference points which appeared to transcend the social and economic realities of a society undergoing rapid industrialisation (9).

#### The Domestic Community in Nineteenth Century Scotland

By the 1790's when the Old Statistical Account was compiled (10), there is evidence of the clergy's discomfort with what it saw as the

break-up of the pre-industrial organic community in which self-help and altruism found harmony and where social problems melted before the encouragement and moral regimen of the Kirk, the Kirk elders, and the domestic community.

In the City Parish of Glasgow, the Reverend Mitchell praises the 'friendly societies', or insurance systems of that time in that,

"These societies seem to be the best support for the relief of the work people in a manufacturing country.... this method of support is no bar to industry, which many of the charitable institutions of this country have been reproached with, as it holds up no certain subsistence for the idle or the profligate." (11)

In particular, he found such societies laudible because they accorded well with the domestic community. Thus he adds,

"by supporting the industrious tradesman in the midst of his family this method does not loosen the bonds of natural affection, or take him out of the world, and the society to which he has been accustomed." (12)

The minister of Glasgow's Barony parish held similar views. He describes friendly societies, for example, as being,

"friendly to the morals of the members, because riotous, disorderly persons forfeit their right in the society, and, in general, they are cut off from any support in disease evidently brought on by intemperance and vice." (13)

Such views were not confined to the problems of an urban proletariat .

The ministers in rural parishes indirectly expressed similar views on the merits of the domestic community by evincing their depression at the notorious "bothy" system. In the New Statistical Account of the 1840's, the Reverend Cairns of Dunbog, for example, comments on the "blighting

evils" of the practice of "making young unmarried men live together in bothies where they are left to their own will." (14) Indeed, apparently in these establishments,

"The old ensnare the young; and the hardened profligate leaves no effort untried to seduce the scrupulous and timid to imitate his reckless example." (15)

Similarly the Logie minister comments on the 'in loco parentis' responsibility of employers when he writes that,

"the young unmarried servants.... are lodged in an apartment called a 'bothy', by themselves, quite detached from their master's house, and in general entirely neglected by him as to moral inspection or religious instruction. The fatal consequence is that too many of our youth in that rank of life have, for many years past, grown up in ignorance and vice." (16)

Such evidence suggests that a major component in the domestic community envisaged by churchmen at the beginning of the nineteenth century was indeed one which, as Davidoff et al. suggest, emphasised the home as a 'moral force'. (17)

By the middle of the century, however, such concern had crystallised in the face of the debate as to the responsibility of the Church, or whether more secular bodies should intervene in their upkeep. The problem as indentified by Scottish churchmen was that the domestic community was not working properly. In the New Statistical Account, the Reverend Murray of Auchterderran was not only one of the few ministers to be optimistic about the moral character of his flock, but had the distinction of a correspondence with Thomas Malthus. He writes,

"Mr Malthus, the political economist, when reading my former report, the hardships represented in the situation of our married labourers wishes to change the following sentence.... 'That people continue to enter voluntarily upon such a hard situation, shows how much the union of the sexes and the love of independence are principles of human nature.' Upon this Mr Malthus remarks, 'The gentleman should have said, instead of the love of independence, the love of progeny'. " (18)

The Reverend Murray counters the biological determinism of Mr Malthus with a statement that biological reproduction is dependent upon social factors:

"But I feel inclined still to adhere to my own version. In that class, the love of progeny does not appear to be either intense or even very general, but the desire of procuring that independence which consists in having their own house, their own fireside, their own little domestic society, etc. seems to influence them generally, and in a great degree." (19)

On the other hand, in Burntisland, the minister wrote that, "the old Scottish spirit of independence is gradually disappearing" (20).

Moreover, he found no contradiction in adding,

"Instances also occur of extreme unwillingness to contribute towards the maintainance of infirm or aged relatives." (21)

In any case, this seems to have been a working class disease, for he concludes,

"As yet, the spirit of beneficence is far from being dormant in the breasts of the wealthier classes." (22)

In Lanarkshire at this time, the minister of Lanark observed that,

"Formerly it was considered disgraceful to receive parochial relief, but for some years past, this honourable feeling has been gradually wearing away." (23)

In the parish of Crawford the minister also noted that,

"The aversion to receive parochial relief, by which Scotland was formerly distinguished, seems here, as in many other places, to be on the decline." (24)

Similarly, in the smaller Lanarkshire parish of Dunsyre, the minister commented,

"There was at one time an extreme aversion to receive parochial aid.... But the spirit of independence is gradually wearing away and many consider it not only as not degrading, but talk of it as a right given to them by the law of the land." (25)

This concern was reflected in more secular areas. Dr W.P. Allison in the 1840's led what has been called a "pragmatic" or "empirical" body of opinion which called for a new State machinery to deal with the problem of poverty and rejected the plausibility of the traditional system of individual and 'community' charity (26)

Such a view was strongly resisted by an opposing school of thought which sought answers in the preservation and revitalisation of the traditional Scottish Parochial system of Church, family and community. Mechie suggests that,

"The typical approach of Scottish churchmen to the changes involved in the agrarian and industrial revolutions.... may be.... clearly seen in Thomas Chalmers." (27)

Indeed some twentieth century social historians have expressed more than a passing admiration for the work of Chalmers. Thus in a history of the Scottish Poor Law, Cormack comments that,



"The theory of Dr Chalmers deserves to be made widely known, even in these days, for its intrinsic worth." (28)

And a Stevenson Lecturer in Citizenship in Glasgow University has observed that some of Chalmers' basic principles "are now the basic principles of modern social and family welfare" (29). In this context Mechie suggests that,

"Chalmers in fact, both directly and indirectly, started a school of thought which issued in the Charity Organisation Society movement with its distinctive technique of social work." (30)

There is not much doubt then that Chalmers was one of the most vocal and energetic exponents of a particular view of social problems, and their solution, in nineteenth century Scotland. Rather than attempting to evaluate his work in terms of either its 'originality', or its 'seminal influence' on future philosophies of social work, however, my concern is to explore the relationship between Chalmers' thought and the growth of State intervention in social issues. In this, my argument is, as Elizabeth Wilson puts it, rather bluntly, that "the literature of social work is the ideology of welfare capitalism". (31 - her emphasis)

#### Thomas Chalmers, Poverty, and the Domestic Community

Chalmers was an exponent of that school of thought which in the nineteenth century was vehemently opposed to any legal right of maintenance for people in poverty; 'voluntary kindness' seemed to him to be the proper solution. The Church was an essential feature of

this voluntary system - and for Chalmers, the relationship between the Church and the family was a strong one. Thus he wrote that,

"The Christianity of.... man has engendered a wisdom, and a consistency, a self-command, that led him to begin well in his entrance upon a family; and so to build up a respectable sufficiency.... A whole parish of Christians would be a parish of well-conditioned families." (32)

He argued that any poor relief system that was public, legal, and centralized would destroy the natural resources of the voluntary system. His metaphor of the "Four Fountains" developed this argument. The first part of his metaphor is pertinent here ( 33). The first natural resource or "fountain" Chalmers wrote, "is situated among the habits of the people themselves" (34). The legal poor relief system of England, argued Chalmers, induced a "great relaxation on the frugality and provident habits of our labouring classes", and led people to rely on public provision rather than on their "own prudence and their own carefulness". For these reasons, Chalmers contemporaries, the Reverend Henry Duncan (35) and the Glasgow industrialist Nathaniel Stevenson (36) and his disciples, the Reverend Norman Macleod (37) and the Reverend Thomas Guthrie, instituted schemes of Savings Banks for the poorer of their parishioners.

The second "fountain" was for Chalmers, the kindness of relatives, and this too suffered under any legal system of poor relief. Thus,

"Both affection and honour give way before the temptations of a public and authorised provision for the relief of indigence; and accordingly in England.... there do occur the most scandalous desertions of very near relatives, and

which, by the force of habit have ceased to be considered scandalous there.... And there, as if in retaliation, there is the cruel abandonment of parents by their own offspring to the cold and reluctant hand of charity." (38)

The domestic community, for Chalmers, performed, however, functions other than mutual support: he also perceived a social control function. Thus he wrote that the preservation of family bonds was an effective counter to the "crime" of illegitimacy:

"the criminal parties may be safely left to the whole weight of a (family) visitation that is at once the consequence and the corrective of their own transgression." (39)

His criticism of the English Poor Law in this case was that it interfered with these "natural" mechanisms of control. He wrote:

"The mischief done by the allowances of pauperism is not merely that they hold out to crime a refuge from destitution, but that they, in a certain measure, shield it from disgrace. A family visitation that would otherwise be felt as an overwhelming calamity by all its members falls lightly upon their feelings." (40)

Similarly, when considering the "offence" of desertion, Chalmers held that in any community where no public assistance existed, the desertion of a family would be

"as rare and appalling a visitation as the destruction of their all by fire.... while the indignation felt by all at the calamitous event in which all had been made to take an interest would strengthen the popular habit the more on the side of all the relative and family obligations." (41)

A central component of Chalmers' notion of revitalizing the Scottish Parochial system to deal with the problems of poverty in industrial society was, then, the family system. On the one hand it was an ideal, derived from rural images, images of the farm-house, the

farm labourer's cottage, and the parish kirk.

In summary, the philosophy of Chalmers, like most conservative philosophy (42), falls into that school which takes a pessimistic view of human nature. As Lukes points out, this school sees

"man as a bundle of desires which need to be regulated, tamed, repressed, manipulated and given direction for the sake of social order." (43)

Thus Chalmers spoke of the "indefinite demands and expectations of the poor", and saw a function of the Christian parish, made up of "well conditioned families", as being a mechanism to control these demands.

In this sense, this mid-nineteenth century rhetoric can be understood as attempting to reincarnate in industrial Scotland some pre-industrial Gemeinschaft in which kinship bonds were an element in legitimating traditional authority.

On the other hand, this school of thought can be understood as a feature of that Victorian middle class ideology which as Alexander suggests not only sanctified the family but also asserted that the laws of capitalist production were the laws of Nature herself (44). Chalmers, for example, was a disciple of Adam Smith, in that he believed that economic matters should be left open to the free operation of "natural" forces. He approved of Adam Smith's assertion that trade and national interest benefited from being left untouched by the State.

Chalmers' social philosophy was therefore also a part of a

nineteenth century set of economic doctrines. Similarly his view of the family, as generated by these doctrines, was a common one in nineteenth century Britain. Harrison, for example, points out that the Victorian Conservative Party was at one with evangelical organisations in upholding family values. In 1872, Disraeli argued that,

"England is a domestic country.... here the home is revered and the hearth is sacred. The nation is represented by the family - the Royal Family." (45)

Although Disraeli was, in fact, defending the monarchy on this occasion, Harrison suggests that for the government, an advantage of concentrating on family questions was,

"that it involved addressing the public in small units rather than in larger groups, on topics, which did not arise from the work situation but which could knit the nation together by arousing intense interest in all social classes." (46)

Thus, in "Mary Barton", for example, Mrs Gaskell showed how in a family tragedy,

"rich and poor, masters and men, were then brothers in the deep suffering of the heart." (47)

Moreover, Harrison makes it clear that the Tories were not alone in upholding family values. Thus the Liberal Party, as he suggests, in their promotion of education and temperance, and in their opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts\*, also supported family bonds. And it was

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\* The Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869 gave to the police certain powers to arrest a woman suspected of being a common prostitute, and detain her for medical treatment.



the woman working outside the home who received special attention from the parliamentary commissioners, who emphasised the moral and spiritual degradation attendant upon female employment (48). Shaftesbury argued that,

"In the male the moral effects of the system are very sad, but in the female they are infinitely worse.... It is bad enough if you corrupt a man, but if you corrupt the woman, you poison the waters of life at the very fountain." (49)

State intervention, in this context, can be understood at the level of assisting the reproduction of labour power. Cockburn understands the early State intervention in the Factory system as "the role of the state in reproducing the labour force." As she points out,

"The capitalist system could not go on indefinitely using up several generations of labour in the space of one." (50)

Similarly, Davidoff et al.'s observation on the banning of women from underground work in mines and field work in agriculture can be understood in these terms, rather than simply as attempts to underwrite traditional social controls (51). Certainly, as they make clear, the battle to bring the single adult girl within the domestic sphere lies behind the history of nineteenth century charitable movements. For example, on factory employment, Dr Bernardo wrote,

"The East End of London is a hive of factory life, and factory means that which is inimical to home.... they (the factory girls) are easily thrown upon the world to fight precocious independence which weakens family ties and is highly unfavourable to the growth of domestic virtues." (52)

But where Harrison argues in a similar vein that in the Girl's Friendly

Society of the nineteenth century,

"The strengthening of the family was seen as an alternative to state intervention." (53)

it is important not to misinterpret the relationship between this kind of Victorian ideology and the capitalist state: the domestic community and the state were by no means antithetical. As Landes argues, all aspects of social life are related to the capitalist economic system. And in this sense,

"There are no absolute divisions between the family and factory..... Women, in particular, are encouraged to regulate each family member's behaviour not only inside the family, but more important, in such a way that the norms of correct behaviour are projected outside the home. The good son or husband is a good worker as well." (54)

Certainly, as Harrison indicates, observations like those of Mrs Summer were typical:

"There has been a tendency in all reformatory efforts to ignore the parents and the divine institution of home life." (55)

- a remark with which Chalmers would have been in full agreement.

Certainly also, the practice of such charitable organisations was incredibly detailed and pervasive in its attempts to supervise and 'domesticize' the single working girl. In

1889, the Girl's Friendly Society arranged with the Travellers' Aid Society for girls to be met at railway stations and escorted to their place of residence - the reason brilliantly clear to the Victorian Mind, thus,

"there is a certain class of girls who lose their heads the moment they enter a railway station." (56)

The basic difference between Chalmers' "traditional" solution to the problem of poverty, and its so-called "rival", for example, might not be as great as has been suggested. Dr W.P. Alison, Professor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh in the 1840's is generally considered as the leader of this "opposing school of thought". His contemporary, Patrick Brewster of Paisley declared that Alison had "undeniably proved.... that the parochial relief given in Scotland has long been totally inadequate." (57) Similarly, Thomas Carlyle referred in 1843, to "the brave and humane Dr. Alison" (58), while Cormack's history of the Poor Law describes how,

"Dr Alison of Edinburgh led the attack on the side of legal assessment against the General Assembly." (59)

Certainly, much has been written of the "Alison - Chalmers controversy". Chalmers himself was aware of his opponent: "Dr Alison, sir," he is reported to have exclaimed, "Dr Alison is a mere lump of benevolence." Similarly, Sheriff Watson's diary recalls that at a meeting in 1840, one supporter of the Scottish parish system called Dr Alison "a bigot, a man of little experience." It is true that the approaches did have some important differences. Alison sought to extend his medical researches, for example,

"to the grand evil of Poverty itself, and endeavour to apply to it the same principles of investigation by which physicians are guided in determining the immediate causes and remedies of disease." (60)

Such investigation was therefore empirical and essentially positivistic and led him to the conclusion that the problem of poverty was worse in Scotland than in other parts of Europe, the striking contrast between Scotland and England being a case in point. He argued that the reason for this state of affairs was that England, like most European countries afforded some legalised poor fund. In 1838, for example, in England poor law assessment was made at seven shillings and seven pence per head of the population; in Scotland, in the same year, the amount was one shilling and four pence - and this was levied in only a minority of parishes. In this way, the 'empirical' or 'pragmatic' school, by advocating a new administrative machinery, have been viewed as rejecting the old parochial system built on the moral regimen of the family, parish and kirk.

On the other hand, as Bourdieu suggests,

"disagreement presupposes agreement on the areas of disagreement, and the manifest conflicts between trends and doctrines conceal the implied basic concurrence..."(61).

Thus while Alison disagreed with Chalmers over the effects of legal provision, the principles upon which this disagreement was based, seem to me to have accepted many of the fundamental assumptions of Chalmers' position.

While, crucially, Alison denied that a legal assessment would produce the disastrous results claimed by Chalmers, his rationale was expressed as follows:

"that in a country advanced in civilisation, population makes the most rapid progress where least is done for the poor; that its tendency (inherent in human nature) to outstrip the means of subsistence, is most effectually restrained where a fixed and uniform provision.... is known to exist; and that no religious or moral education which can be given them without the aid of such provision against destitution and misery, is effectual in teaching them prudence, or restraining their tendency to excessive increase." (62)

That is, Alison assumed the same view of human nature as Chalmers, but used it to reach different conclusions.

Moreover, Alison denied that the parochial system with its moral management was incompatible with the extension of legal provision. While Alison's proposals included increasing the allowances made to the socially and physically disabled, he also recommended the extension of the English principle of "less eligibility", in that the unemployed worker could only, in this system, be relieved in the workhouse. As R.H. Campbell has observed, in fact

"Alison feared the growth of a large number of work-shy people and so, punitively, broke from the Scottish tradition of outdoor relief by advocating relief for such able-bodied only in the workhouse." (63)

Further, as I shall argue in the next chapter, Alison's concern with regulating the movement of paupers, which led him to recommend the raising of the residential qualification from 3 to 7 or even 10 years, was strictly in keeping with the management ethos of the Scottish 'local community'.

Thus it seems to me that historians such as Cormack are mistaken when they argue of Alison that,



"The principles he advocated were opposed to the prevalent doctrines of the political economy...." (64)

Evans is nearer the mark in his recent summation of Perkin, that the State's intervention in areas of,

"- inspection, limited conditions and a certain financial support - are perfectly compatible with an overall supremacy of laissez-faire. They act as subordinate areas of collective interference, necessary to preserve the viability of laissez-faire." (65)

Many of these issues are illustrated in a particular and important aspect of Victorian familist ideology, viz., the stigma attached to illegitimacy.

The imagery of a stable, ordered and disciplined social world, constructed in terms of a revitalised family system, was brought into sharp focus by the contemplation of possible alternatives: the 'negative' imagery of the disintegration of family life, the inevitable weakening of the moral fibre of society, the collapse of discipline and authority, and the ascendancy of permissiveness and profligacy. Whenever the 'domestic idyll' was celebrated, a spectre also attended the feast; whenever the virtue of the family was invoked, so too, its shadow, the alter ego of this virtue, was summoned. And as such 'devils' are summoned, it has been observed that societies appear to be subjected to a period of "moral panic" (66). Indeed, in the mid-Victorian era, in Scotland, it is clearly the case that

"A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests...." (67)

The condition was sexual intercourse outwith marriage; the episode, the census of Scotland in 1855; the group of persons, the mothers of illegitimate children.

It is to these inhabitants of the shadow of the 'domestic idyll' that I now turn.

### The Family and Illegitimacy

As Smout points out,

"The sexual ideal of Victorian Scotland (was that).... all sexual intercourse before marriage was wrong, and all sexual intercourse after marriage except with the spouse was worse." (68)

In spite of this, however, part of the data produced by the first census to be taken by the Registrar General for Scotland in 1855 proved to be, in Carter's terms, "dynamite". (69) The Registrar General showed that the Scottish illegitimacy ratio in 1855 was 7.8 per cent. This revelation was, as Carter suggests, "deeply shocking to bourgeois Scotland". Matters were made worse by the fact that the Registrar General's publication of 1858 showed that Scotland came second highest in the "international league table" - certainly higher than the auld enemy, England. As the Registrar General pointed out,

"let us freely but sorrowfully acknowledge that for drunkenness and illegitimacy (our native land) maintains an unenviable notoriety among the kingdoms of Europe" (70)

While Carter, and to a lesser extent, Smout, are both aware of the epistemological problems involved in drawing conclusions from such

social statistics. both, in a sense, take as unproblematic the "public outcry" which the data's revelations provoked. In fact, the "sexual ideal" underlying this outcry was of a relatively recent origin. As Pinchbeck has argued, for example, in medieval Great Britain, stigma and sanctions against bastardy were rare (71). Indeed in Gill's terms, during the medieval period,

"illegitimate children were not a 'problem', hence explanations of childbearing outside marriage were not necessary." (72)

Certainly the 'dynamite' of the 1855 census should be contexted in the fact that in Scotland too, moralist and theological notions of marriage and legitimacy were only gradually incorporated into the normative system. Pinchbeck points out that Burton's History of Scotland, in discussing the number of illegitimate claimants to the Scottish throne who brought their claims to Edward 1, observed

"That they should have pushed their claims only shows that the Church had not yet absolutely established the rule that from her and her ceremony and sacrament alone could come the union capable of transmitting a right of succession to offspring." (73)

In his discussion of subsequent changes in attitudes towards illegitimacy, Pinchbeck notes that,

"It was not until the sixteenth century that social stigma attached to illegitimacy in any marked degree, and even then only upon a class basis." (74)

A further gradual shift in attitude meant that by the final quarter of the sixteenth century, illegitimate children and their parents,

particularly among the working classes, were subject to stigmatisation. Certainly the Poor Law Act of 1576 was one of the first recognitions in statute of illegitimacy as a problem. Here considerations of the close interrelationship of the family, the State, and the economy provide an important perspective. Thus, whereas Gill's assertion that Victorian concern for the sanctity of the family "further increased" the condemnation of illegitimacy goes largely unexplained (75), this concern is comprehensible as part of an ideological sphere immediately relevant to a particular stage in capitalist development.

I shall consider, below, how the imagery of the 'domestic idyll' and in particular its negative, informed the operation of the Poor Law. I shall begin by examining data which report the attitudes of Poor Law officials to this negation of the family ideal, the shadow of illegitimacy.

### The Domestic Community and the Poor Law

#### (a) Illegitimacy

In processing an application for Poor Relief, the Inspector of Poor had to assess, firstly, the genuineness of the case by examining several "factors of eligibility" (see below, Chapter 5), and secondly, whether to give "outdoor relief" of some kind, or to offer the applicant a place in the poorhouse. Initially, as Paterson suggests, it was in this area of the provision of relief itself that the Parochial Boards

enjoyed most freedom (76). One factor influencing the situation was the state of resources available in the parish. By 1850, for example, there were only twenty-one poorhouses in Scotland, and by 1868, this had increased to sixty-eight. Another factor was that not only the poor preferred outdoor relief; so too did the Parochial Boards for whom it was cheaper and easier to organise than residential care. While outdoor relief was simply a matter of the pauper collecting a cash or 'kind' allowance each week, indoor relief required a more elaborate machinery of administration.

Against this however, increasingly it was becoming felt that indoor relief would be cheaper in the long term, by "testing" the genuineness of applications in the same manner as the English system, thus reducing the number of applications overall.

By the mid-1850's, however, as Paterson points out, the "unsupervised" nature of outdoor relief increasingly was coming under fire from the press. This Chalmers-style attack was directed largely at the "indiscriminate alms-giving" of outdoor relief, and pointed to the need to supervise certain groups who were particularly "at risk" in terms of moral degeneration. One such group was the "illegitimate" family, and in the years which followed, the appropriate method of relief for this group became of significant importance. Ferguson, for example, discusses the "official pressure" which was brought to bear on local Parochial Boards in the years following 1864, by the Central Board of Supervision,



to use the poorhouse as a major means of relieving mothers of illegitimate children (77). In particular, from 1868 onwards, when a new chairman was appointed, Ferguson argues that,

"the Officers of the Board of Supervision had been urging Parochial Boards to offer only indoor relief to mothers of illegitimate children." (78)

The Report from the Select Committee on Poor Law (Scotland) of 1869 offers illustration of this thinking. Sir John McNeil, chairman of the Board of Supervision from 1845 - 1868, was questioned on the subject:

"1564 - In the case of women with illegitimate children, would you think it advisable to make it compulsory that those cases should be sent to the poorhouse? - My own opinion is that it is the best mode of dealing with them."

Mr William Smyth, a member of the Board of Supervision in 1868, went a little further, in pointing out the deterrent effect of "this mode of dealing with them":

"524 - Do you generally send mothers of illegitimate children to the poorhouse in your parish (in Edinburgh)? - We generally threaten them, and then they go off the roll and take care of themselves."

The Reverend Lees of Paisley showed that the Church was in agreement with this principle:

"4147 - ....I would wish to see men who deserted their wives and families punished criminally.... I would like to see the mothers of illegitimate children always offered the house."

Mr Lewis, an Edinburgh councillor, while in agreement with the poorhouse test, argued to the Select Committee that institutionalisation alone was

as likely to encourage illegitimacy as to diminish it. He was concerned that the woman was free to leave the poorhouse after the birth of an illegitimate child. In fact "not infrequently we find that they are coming and going..."! (79) In addition to their becoming "thoroughly divested of self-respect", the poorhouse, far from being a deterrent became a stand-by, in that

"whenever they get into adversity (sic!) they have nothing to do but knock on the poorhouse door and be readmitted" (80)

As a solution, he proposed to separate the children, who would be looked after in the poorhouse nurseries, from their mothers, whose freedom and movement would be restricted:

"4591 - I would not be disposed to let the mother go out just when she thought proper. If she was kept there for a period of six, nine, or twelve months, and worked there as a servant under workhouse superintendence, I think that that would produce a salutary effect as compared with the existing system."

Certainly, not all the members of the Board shared these views. Sheriff Fraser told the 1869 Select Committee:

1075..... You will never keep down bastardy by any such provision; no woman is got with child in the hope that the child will be supported by the Parochial Board.

1076..... illegitimate children are the produce of opportunity and passion.

1077 - Does not the knowledge that those children will ultimately be supported by the Parochial Board remove the former check to some extent? - Not in one case out of fifty, I believe.

But such 'moderate' views must be placed alongside Mr Gray of Ayrshire

who argued to the Select Committee in 1868 that the mothers of illegitimate children, "should be sent to the poorhouse and made to work, or refused alimnt entirely". (81) Even 'harder' attitudes were expressed by Dr Woods of Edinburgh, who told the Committee that,

"I would not admit a woman with a bastard child into the poorhouse, or give her one penny of relief." (82)

When asked whether this harsh treatment might not contribute to the rate of infanticide, Dr Woods answered,

"It is a horrible thing to contemplate infanticide, but it seems to me a still more horrible thing to contemplate the multiplication of that class of beings by the encouragement which you give it by law." (83)

Views as extreme as those of Dr Woods, however, appear unrepresentative of the evidence collected by the Select Committee in the late 1860's and early 1870's. Consideration of the 'interviews' collected suggests that the poorhouse, indoor relief, was largely advocated, and this for, initially, two reasons. Firstly, the poorhouse was seen as a deterrent which would make the financing of the Poor Law cheaper by encouraging self-help, or increasing the efforts of the woman to find the father. Secondly, admission to the poorhouse was alleged to have a great moral effect, both in terms of taking 'at risk' cases 'off the street', and in terms of subjecting them to some moral supervision. Thus in the 1860's, the General Superintendent of Poor in the Southern Highland District argued that in the poorhouse,

"a woman is placed in a position in which good conduct is enforced and good habits learned, and the children can be properly trained and educated.... both mother and children are placed in a position to earn their bread honestly, and to become self-dependent members of society." (84)

He emphasised, however, that to be effective, admission to the poorhouse had to be made a strict deterrent, explaining the average longer stays in the Barony Poorhouse, as compared to the Glasgow Poorhouse, in terms of extra diet in the former, and the hard work and lack of indulgence in the latter!

In such accounts, concern with the moral and spiritual degeneration of the woman in particular, is especially evident. Indeed the role of the woman in the domestic labour process was realised by some commentators at the time. The interview with Mr J.B. Risk in the Report of the 1870 Select Committee gives evidence of this. (Mr Risk was an Inspector of the Poor in Stonehaven, a committee member of the Dunbarton Poorhouse, a member of the Parochial Boards of Cardross and Kilmarnock, and a resident of Glasgow). An extract of the interview follows:

3181.... Perhaps I may be better understood if I, instead of saying that he cannot lay past (save) anything, I say that he does not.

3182 - Does not that depend more upon the habits of the wife? - A great deal depends upon that.

3183 - A frugal wife of a man earning 10s or 12s a week will save more than a wasteful wife of a husband earning 20s a week? - Certainly.

3184 - Therefore the condition of the workman depends very much upon the improvidence of the wife, and, in fact, there is a great deal of improvidence in the working classes? - Yes.

In this way, familist ideology can be understood as 'predicting' the outcome of applications for Poor Relief. I shall now apply these considerations, below, in an analysis of the 896 applications for Poor Relief in District 4 of the City Parish of Glasgow, in 1871.

(b) Local Poor Law Practice

From a consideration of the problematic of the 'domestic community' one might hypothesise that an unmarried applicant of either sex would be more likely to be offered the poorhouse as an alternative, 'custodial', institution to the family, while the married applicant might be more likely to be offered outdoor relief, and the regulation of his or her morals and social behaviour left to the constraints of familial responsibilities.

Table 1 (over) shows the raw score results of an analysis of the 1871 data in terms of the type of poor relief offered, and marital status. Table 2 regroups these data, and presents information on the outcome of applications for poor relief, and whether the applicant was married, or in a 'not married' state (that is, single, divorced,



TABLE 1 : Marital Status and Poor Relief (Male and Female)

	single	married	divorced	widowed	deserted	separated	row total
offered poor house	294	92	1	165	65	2	619
offered cash	24	64	0	39	12	0	139
offered other form of relief	6	5	0	4	6	1	22
Column Total	324	161	1	208	83	3	780

(Children and missing values = 116)

widowed, deserted, or seperated.)

TABLE 2 : Married/Not Married, and Poor Relief

	Married		Not Married	
		%		%
Offered Poorhouse	92	(59)	527	(88)
Offered Cash	64	(41)	75	(12)
	156	(100)	602	(100)

From Table 2, it is clear that, where in the married group, 41 per cent of the men and women were offered cash relief, only 12 per cent of those in the unmarried group were offered relief outwith the supervision of the poorhouse.

Moreover, we might expect that the ideology of the 'domestic community' informed the treatment of applications made by women in particular. Comparison of married women with other groups using the schedule data is difficult in that few married women applied - this was no doubt due to the probable convention, in the case of married couples, of the man making the application. The data do suggest, however, that married women were more likely to be offered a cash payment than single women. In other words, single women were less likely to receive 'unsupervised' outdoor relief. Table 3 compares the

treatment offered to 214 female applicants.

TABLE 3 : Marital Status (Female) and Poor Relief

	Married Women		Single Women	
	%		%	
Offered poorhouse	23	(46)	144	(88)
Offered cash	27	(54)	20	(12)
	<hr/> 50 (100)		<hr/> 164 (100)	

From the discussion of the 'domestic community', above, we would expect that, in the day-to-day 'business' of Poor Relief, mothers of illegitimate children would be more likely to have been offered the 'supervision' of a poor institution rather than 'let loose' with some form of cash payment. Analysis of the applicationschedules of female poor with children, both legitimate and illegitimate, in the City Parish, District 4, in 1871, tends to confirm this. Table 4 shows the result of this analysis.

TABLE 4 : Illegitimacy and Poor Relief

	Women with illegitimate children		Women with legitimate children	
	%		%	
Offered institutional relief	76	(94)	207	(68)
Offered cash	5	( 6)	96	(32)
	<hr/> 81 (100)		<hr/> 303 (100)	

Table 4 shows, then, that while 32 per cent of mothers of legitimate children were offered cash relief, only 6 per cent of mothers of illegitimate children were offered this kind of relief, over 90 per cent of the latter being offered the relief in a Poor Law institution.

Similarly, nineteenth century official sources suggest that women who had lost the supposed stabilising influence of the family bond through the death of husbands would fall prey to emotions of unbridled lust. Thus, Mr Malcolm McNeil, one of the Central Board of Supervision's senior officers, on the 1st July 1875, sought to "reduce our system to definite rules", which included the suggestion that "no outdoor relief whatever" should be offered.

"in the case of widows who may fall into immoral habits after the death of their husbands." (85)

Examination of the Glasgow schedules of applicants who were widows shows that only 26 per cent received cash relief, the majority being sent to the poorhouse. Table 5 shows this.

TABLE 5 : Widows and Poor Relief

	Widows		Married Women	
		%		%
Offered institutional relief	110	(74)	23	(46)
Offered cash	39	(26)	27	(54)
	149	(100)	50	(100)

The practice of the Poor Law, for women in the City Parish, District 4, in 1871, seems to favour the applicant with a 'legitimate' family.

Moreover, Poor Law Inspectors also expressed concern at the behaviour of unmarried men. Discussing applications made by able-bodied poor people, in his annual report of 1862, the City Parish Inspector wrote:

"In investigating these cases it was painful to find nearly one-third of them single men. Most of them had left the parental roof as soon as their earnings were sufficient to maintain themselves - too selfish to allow any part of their income to contribute to the maintenance of other parts of the family - and too self-willed to submit to parental control - they left home - contracted unsettled habits - when in work, squandered their means - and when distress came, they were among the first to apply for charity." (86)

Poverty, in this case, is explained as being the consequence of a moral pathogen, and the diminution of the 'correctional' influence of family bonds. One might expect that the fate of such single men, at the hands of the local poor law authorities would reflect this attitude.

As Table 6 shows, analysis of the schedule data suggests that there was a relationship between a man's marital status and whether he was offered cash relief or not.

TABLE 6 : Marital Status (Male) and Poor Relief

	Single Men		Married Men	
		%		%
Offered poorhouse	150	(97.4)	69	(65.1)
Offered cash	4	( 2.6)	37	(34.9)
	154	(100.0)	106	(100.0)



Examination of the schedules suggests that applications by widowers were treated in a similar way to those of widows. None of the 59 widowers who applied in District 4 in 1871 were offered cash relief. Again comparison of married men with all single (divorced, separated, or widowed) men, suggests a relationship between marital status and Poor Relief in the male group also, as Table 7 indicates.

TABLE 7 : Marital Status and Poor Relief  
Married Men, and all Other Male Groups

	Married Men %	All Other Men %
Offered poorhouse	69 (65.1)	206 (98.1)
Offered cash	37 (34.9)	4 ( 1.9)
	106 (100.0)	210 (100.0)

This analysis of the local data suggests that, in terms of the kind of relief it offered, the local practice of the Scottish Poor Law distinguished between those applicants who had a current "partner in marriage", and those "single" individuals who had not. In particular, groups which official reports singled out as being especially "at risk" (such as the mothers of illegitimate children, widows, widowers) seem to have been offered the supervised relief of the poorhouse. By contrast, married applicants were more likely to receive cash, "outdoor", relief, and be returned to their families.

The fact that this distinction included widows and widowers

suggests that the issue at stake was more than the 'moralism' expressed at the time about "illegitimate" relationships. Applicants who satisfied such moral criteria in that they had had a spouse in the past still were treated differently from currently married people. This suggests that the family bond itself was the deciding factor rather than the moral issue of whether or not the applicant had ever married.

The individual without family bonds and responsibilities then, was thought to be in need of institutionalisation - the married applicant was returned to his or her family. In this way, the local practice of Poor Relief operated at two levels. Firstly, it can be understood as a form of social control, by "taking out of circulation" individuals who, in terms of the ideology of the domestic community, were 'misfits', while returning to the job market individuals who, again in familist terms, might be judged not only stable, but socially and economically productive. Secondly, and as a consequence, local practice was involved in upholding the principles of social order assumed by the 'domestic community'. By articulating such rhetoric, therefore, the operation of the Poor Law 'formalised' and 'mobilised' elements of the image cluster which I have called the 'domestic community'. During a period of rapid industrialisation this family imagery 'organised' poverty as a moral problem in need of supervision: the nature of this 'supervision' I shall consider in Chapter 5. We have still to consider, however, the second of the powerful image clusters of Victorian Scotland - the 'parish'.

## CHAPTER 4

## The Local Community

1. The Victorian Ideal

I shall now turn to the second central image which formed the basic structures of the mid-Victorian ideological field in which the operation of the New Poor Law was contexted. In this first part of the chapter, I am concerned, at a most general level, to consider the account of the Victorian social matrix which this second image succeeded in sustaining. The second part of the chapter will examine how this image was 'put to work' by the Scottish parish ministers, those powerful, moral entrepreneurs who were directly involved in debates about poverty and the Poor Law. Thirdly, I shall consider the institutional dimension of this imagery, and examine the ways in which it informed the operation of the New Scottish Poor Law.

Throughout this chapter, my concern is with the extremely complex social image of the community, at once a 'key word' with special and almost infinitely flexible connotations (1). Firstly, as Davidoff et al. point out, during the nineteenth century, the 'community' was directly coupled with the countryside, making up the "rural idyll" (2). Secondly, in a marriage of allusions concerning, on the one hand, agriculture and fertility, and on the other, a Good Life attained through mutual and reciprocal co-operation, the Victorian image was of a community which was 'organic' in character. As such it was 'natural' in a way

which transcended the appearances of the contemporary and materialist scene - appearances such as the tension between social classes.

Indeed, as one commentator put it at the beginning of the century,

"Such is the superiority of rural occupations and pleasures that commerce, large societies or crowded cities may justly be reckoned as unnatural". (3)

In a society disrupted by urban and industrial growth, and undergoing the consequent changes in social and civil life, those notions which stressed community life as 'rural', 'organic', and profoundly 'natural', epitomised the stable social hierarchy which the Victorian ruling classes sought to save, or, where it had been damaged beyond repair, to recreate.

When one considers the nature and degree of these changes, that such imagery carried conviction at all is remarkable. For one thing, an agrarian revolution was taking place, and in a manner which was significantly different from that which had occurred in England some time previously. The significant 'twist' in the Scottish experience is implied by Corrigan's observation that

"there was an English empire long before any stretch of sea 'was crossed' ". (4 - his emphasis)

In other words, an important factor in the formulation of the British State was the subjugation of Scotland (and Wales). Certainly, the attitude of the Government in Whitehall was clearly informed by the fact that the uprising of 1745 had taken an army of insurrection,

composed mainly of Highlanders, to within 120 miles of London. The Government was understandably at pains to end, once and for all, the likelihood of such rebellions. Together with the other political and strategic interests of the British Isles, this made the military conquest and pacification of Northern Scotland essential. Secondly, at this time, the interests of English capital required the exploitation of Highland resources - particularly wool and kelp - and this exploitation, in turn, required changes to the social and economic structure of the Highlands.

In the face of a British Government determined, then, to destroy the political, social, and cultural order of the Highlands, the Clan chiefs capitulated, allied themselves with the forces of imperialism, and energetically set about becoming Anglicised gentlemen. With the encouragement and connivance (5) of London 'society', they looked South for wives, sent their sons to English schools, abandoned their language, and began the thorough commercial exploitation of their lands in order to fund these social aspirations.

Together with the social consequences of a shift from a peasant to an industrial economy, then, the final stages of the political colonisation of the Highlands meant additional hardship for the region's traditional occupants, as they were removed, systematically and ruthlessly. James Hunter has summed up this process of clearance, undertaken for the profit of its perpetrators:



"The Highland Clearances..... were as good, or bad, an example of naked exploitation as has ever been seen in Britain." (6)

Just as the imagery of the rural and parochial 'idyll' of an organic and ordered community endured in the face of this set of social changes, so it also weathered a second series of changes, equally dramatic in its nature and consequences. Although slightly later than that of England, Scotland's experience of the industrial revolution was no less traumatic. By the mid-Victorian era, rapid industrialisation produced sharp increases in the populations of counties in the central, and mainly urban, belt. Lanarkshire's population increased from 81,726 in 1801 to 765,339 in 1871; Ayrshire's from 84,207 to 200,809; Midlothian's from 122,597 to 328,379; and Renfrewshire's from 78,501 to 216,947 in the same period (7). The immiseration of Scottish working people took place beside the establishment of "centre(s) of princely wealth." (8)

Given on the one hand, the systematic and brutal deconstruction of Northern community life, and on the other, the distress engendered by the rapid growth of an impoverished and exploited urban population, the social matrix, the multi-faceted system of images and categories of thought into which Scottish people were located throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, is of all the more interest. How did the social matrix provided by this second image cluster of the rural 'idyll' of the Scottish parish endure? How was it that the basis of

an ideological consensus was provided by the image of a well-oiled, and smoothly running parochial economy? How was the image of the 'parish', that profoundly Scottish local community, constructed out of the contradictory experiences of disparate class factions?

As with the questions posed by the success of 'the domestic community' in 'catching up' the quite contradictory experiences of Scottish people in the nineteenth century within its framework, so in this case 'answers' cannot be provided by simply 'more research' of a quantitative kind. Rather, an important way forward is to deconstruct and dismantle certain aspects of the cultural tradition - in this case a Scottish one - which the practice of history has revealed to us. MacArthur, for instance, has described the working ideology in the Scottish context as,

"a multi-faceted system of images and categories of thought into which Scots of the last century and a half have been .... interpellated, set in place as social actors, their consciousness being defined within the limits of the system". (9)

What follows is an attempt to dismantle one aspect of this tradition by considering how one such 'Scotch Myth' was constructed. Initially, this analysis draws substantially upon work done on English culture.

A fundamental element in this construction was that its point of reference was retrospective, in a time which lay "just back.... over the last hill" (10). In other words, the image of the local community was

fashioned out of "retrospects"(11). As Williams points out, when things change there will always be pockets of "retrospective regret"(12) which remember different ways in different times. As the material and normative structures of these same pockets change, however, and as a consequence the general contradictions of the system are made more visible, so what began as local observation, at least grounded in some sort of realism, becomes myth. An element in the imagery of the local community was, then, a harking back to a just-departed Golden Age. But this harking back involved a crucial inflection and displacement and this process constitutes the "retrospect". The process can begin, paradoxically, with a feeling which is able to "dispense with retrospect"(13), a feeling which indeed might consist of a rejection of the 'pastoral'. Thus, as a poor "thresher poet" in Wiltshire, Stephen Duck perceived "a gloomy melancholy scene" (14) within which, "sooty pease we thresh"(15), made worse by the fact that

"Week after week, we this dull Task pursue,  
Unless we winn'wing Days produce a new;  
A new, indeed, but frequently a worse!  
The Threshal yields but to the Master's Curse." (16)

Once 'discovered' by Queen Caroline, however, and accomodated to the affluence of the Court establishment, Duck succeeded in literally displacing himself within his own poetry. In the process, the "we", once acknowledged above, who had had to "sweat beneath the sun" (17), and the "Master's greedy hand" (18), was translated into the third person and became "the swain", of Claudian lines such as, "How bless'd the Swain of

Bethnal-Green," (19). In this process of social absorbtion, what had been a "curse" became a "blessing".

The process is to be perceived in a more typical, although more complex, way in the work of Crabbe - much less of a poet of easy virtue than Stephen Duck. Crabbe also began from a clear rejection of the 'pastoral', and whilst acknowledging that "fields and flocks have charms", rejects the old in the face of the social contrast provided by visions of

"The poor laborious natives of the place,  
.....the mid-day sun, with fervid ray,  
On their bare heads..... (20)

What began as a juxtaposition of the "real ills" against "the lies of pastoral conventions" (21), in the end, however, found a still higher truth, and a morality above and independant of social conditions, and thus, the original muse is inflected in a stanza where Crabbe exhorts that,

"... you, ye poor, who still lament your fate,  
Forbear to envy those you call the great;  
And know, amid the blessings they possess,  
They are, like you, the victims of distress." (22)

The moral indignation that the oppressed should "forbear to envy ....they are, like you....." will be reconstructed below in terms of the Scottish notion of 'Jock Tamson's Bairns' in which "a man's a man for a' that" (23).

The inflection of, or selection from, what happened "just back..... over the last hill" as discussed by Williams, is an important component in the "retrospects" used to interpret mid-Victorian society in terms of the local community. Moreover, the kind of displacements illustrated

above go a long way in accounting for the sorts of "hypocracies" which Davidoff et al (24) uncover in the nineteenth century celebrations of the 'rural idyll'. Thus they note the vivid images of a sportsman-like relationship between masters and men on the cricket pitch of the village green, co-existing with a hierarchy, which in rural England, was controlled in a rigid and arbitrary manner by the land-owning class\* (25). With the benefits of hindsight, we must, like Davidoff et al, find such Victorian hypocracies the more remarkable. How were they accomplished? How was the trick brought off?

Just as an adjustment to the parsing practised by the muse of the poet instanced by Raymond Williams provided a series of more flexible political options for Mr Duck (and no doubt, Queen Caroline), so an equally flexible component of the community ideal was that which introduced notions of the egalitarian nature of Scottish society, as

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\* Such contradictory images are still with us. Thus the contemporary lyricist, Ray Davies, has contrasted the vicissitudes produced by sexual and material contradictions with the essentially 'English' version of the rural idyll, and its promise of "lazing on a sunny afternoon" (26). Mr. Davies, however, finds that the rewards of such a promise are scant recompense for the deprivations he has undergone in the real world, in which,

"The taxman's taken all my dough  
And left me in my stately home" (27)

and where, after the departure of girlfriend and car, "all I've got's a sunny afternoon" (28). The possibilities which this affords are, by implication, limited. And, like an even more cynical contemporary lyricist, we are left with the unpromising prospect of,

"Sitting in an English garden waiting for the sun" (29)

Such cynicism was less in evidence in popular culture in the mid-nineteenth century, and as we shall see, was particularly silent in the popular culture of Scotland at that time.



opposed to, for example, and in particular, that available in England: to those "rural", "organic", "natural", and "retrospective" aspects discussed above, must be added the notion that Scottish life possessed an equality which was unique.

As has been observed (30), the 'myth' of Scottish egalitarianism is essentially ambivalent. Further, this ambivalence is profoundly enhanced, and perhaps more importantly, made possible, by the ease with which one of the notion's central components can be interpreted in different ways at different social levels. These components are captured in the expressions, 'Jock Tamson's Bairns', and 'The Lad O' Pairs'.(31) Thus the first of these components offers an "idealist" interpretation(32) resting on a reference to an a-social quintessence, which reassures us that, as Jock Tamson's Bairns, at the level of common humanity, we are all fundamentally equal. In the face of this quintessence, the objective structural factors of social inequality, the ability of one class to exploit another, and the poverty of those exploited, are refracted, qualified, and altogether "melt into insignificance" (33), just like the "real ills" noted by Crabbe, above. On the other hand, the term also implies the opposite, and offers an activist interpretation, by juxtaposing existing, 'unnatural', and therefore unjustified, inequality with the basic equality which derives from common humanity.

This 'duality' of the concept of 'Jock Tamson's Bairns' pivots upon an important 'populist' element, which is, by its nature, profoundly

ambiguous. It evokes a picture of the Scottish equivalent of Thompson's 'Free Born Englishman' in The Making of the English Working Class (34) - a picture which I shall describe in some detail, below.

This image indeed has been at the centre of the attempt made by some marxist historians to recover the deep tradition of popular radicalism in British (particularly English) society. As the critics of Thompson's early work point out, however, abstract notions of 'the people' are politically indeterminate, and consequently, popular traditions may become attached to reactionary politics: a popular tradition may be masculinist or feminist, right-wing or left-wing (35).

This populist element is a crucial component in the myth of Scottish egalitarianism: it conjures egalitarian images not only as possible within, but ultimately as justifications and defences of stark social inequality. As with all 'myths', both conservative and radical interpretations were rooted in a certain reality; which interpretation became the most resonant depended upon, as I have suggested above, ideological struggle. It is through this struggle that support is won and legitimacy established: it is through this struggle that the configuration of ideas we refer to as the 'dominant ideology'\* is eased

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\* As Schwarz and Mercer suggest, in Thatcher's Britain,

"the dominant ideology has gained the right to address 'the people', to locate a particular heritage and tradition and to use its resources to its own ends. By doing this it can effectively exclude from the political arena those who are not 'the people': variously, 'scroungers', council-house tenants, extremists, immigrants, wreckers, and women who go on noisy demonstrations, or even out to work." (36)

into place. This 'flexibility' enabled the populist reference of 'Jock Tamson's Bairns' to construct an 'ideal life' for the lower orders in terms of their masters, and in this way, what appears to be a revolutionary appeal becomes a social discipline. This aspect of Scottish egalitarianism, then, is exactly the rhetorical device described by Barthes as 'the art of fake speech' and as an aspect of the imagery of the Scottish parish in the nineteenth century was part of what Gramsci called the 'cement' of society.

A second element in the idea of Scottish egalitarianism held that equality was not only valued, but institutionalised, in Scotland. Thus, in the phrase 'The Lad O' Pairts' was conveyed the idea that Scotland provided the meritocratic structures which enabled talented youths to become upwardly mobile. This notion again, however, carried an important element of 'duality'. In the name of 'egalitarianism', support was invoked for a system which offered no equality, whether socially, economically, or politically. In fact, as Alan MacLaren has pointed out, the 'Lad O' Pairts' idea exemplified not equality at all, but equality of opportunity. Thus at the heart of this aspect of egalitarianism lay the presupposition that all men are definitely not equal. In the 'Lad O' Pairts notion

"What is implied is that all men are given an opportunity to be equal. Whatever the values attached to such a belief, if expressed today, it would be termed elitist not egalitarian." (37)

The 'Lad O' Pairs' phenomenon, therefore, provided a rhetoric for the development of conservative positions in the name of radicalism.

Importantly, this facet of 'egalitarianism' in the Victorian imagery of the local community is closely related to the "retrospects" of that same imagery. As McCrone and Bechhofer have pointed out, this 'egalitarianism' harked backwards to a previous Golden Age, rather than proposed a goal to be fought for (38). This 'fit' between the elements of parish imagery, then, in Williams' terms, turned protest into retrospect (39). Many of these aspects of the Victorian image of the local community were embodied in the so-called 'kailyard school' of literature which flourished during the second half of the nineteenth century. As this school of writing captured the particularly 'Scottish' nature of the community images, it is perhaps worthy of some consideration.

#### The Victorian Ideal and the Kailyard School : Pictures of a Parish.

The novelist and reviewer, George Blake, has, with justification, found "staggering" the fact that,

"with most of its people imprisoned in cities and confined to slums of the foulest order" (40),

Scotland was most popularly represented by a series of parochial and rural digressions. The response of the Scottish novelists to the ugliness of life in the cities where two-thirds of the population were confined, was, with few exceptions, "silence, almost as if it were a conspiracy of silence" (41). Thus Blake innocently predicts the French

Marxist-Leninist style of interpretation where in "symptomatic reading" a text is read as much for its "absences", or "silences", as for what it "says" more directly. (42) In a similar fashion, our concern is with what is "said" both directly and by the "silence" of late nineteenth century Scottish literature, rather than accounting for the popularity of the books. At the same time, Carter's authoritative account for the phenomenal success of the 'kailyard school' is of relevance. (43) As he says, the novels of Ian MacLaren, James M. Barrie, and Samuel Crockett were the "hospitable romances" (44) of the second half of the nineteenth century: they gave the public what it wanted, and the public, as is obvious from the sales figures, came back for more.

While the Scottish literature at the beginning of the century invited the reader to follow the heroes of Scott and Stevenson through the bracken, by the latter part of the century, and therefore, of particular concern to this thesis, the bulk of Scottish fiction presented scenes of picturesque rural parishes, inhabited by characters for whom the epithets 'pawky' and 'nippy' would appear to have been invented. Carter has rightly located the common denominator in such works: "they are all interested in decline" (45). Indeed, the orientation of Carter's review stresses that the sense of "arcadian sadness" (46) characteristic of the 'kailyard school' was founded upon a series of social and economic facts: viz., those surrounding the final crisis, in the second half of the nineteenth century, of the peasantry as a



separate social class. Thus, while at the beginning of the century, the relative immaturity of capitalist production provided scope for the social reproduction of the peasant class, shifts in the mode of production which took place in the second half of the century meant that the peasant class's subordinate mode was no longer indispensable. Thus Carter understands, for example, the insistence in the "Drumtochty" community, on the harmony between masters and men, as arising from the writer's perception of the peasantry as a doomed social class. Readers in England, and the Americas, therefore could, with Ian MacLaren, sigh over the extinction of "the last of the old Scots folk". (47)

While Carter's analysis is undeniably fruitful, rather than seeking the socio-economic basis of the 'kailyard school', our present concerns address the phenomenal success of the books in a 'creative' sense, i.e., what did these novels tell their readers, both directly, and through their "silences", about the nature of social life?

Their style and approach is at once populist, nationalist, and humorous. Thus they are constructed in terms of a series of juxtapositions between the rational, and eminently reasonable, narrator (often identified as a local character - school teacher, minister, etc.), and the activities of his 'chorus', who are, by contrast, almost eccentric. This juxtaposition is a common enough literary device, and indeed, I have used it myself in the accounts of the Church's view of family life in the preceding chapter of this work. Yet, although amusing, in the 'kailyard

novels', this juxtaposition accomplishes more than an eccentric effect to be laughed at, and much more than is expressed by Wittig, as

"a cheap whimsicality about bairnies and heroes in homespun" (48).

Indeed, while an extensive review of the 'kailyard school' would be out of place here, some comment is relevant insofar as it addresses the problem of how the image of the parish accomplished an ideological consensus, forged from contradictions and inequalities. I shall suggest, below, that the 'kailyard school' provides an indication of the nature of the social matrix of the nineteenth century parish images which contexted the debate among the local moral entrepreneurs (the ministers) and the lower sections of the middle classes (the parochial officials), as to the causes of, and solutions to, the problem of poverty. For the present, however, I shall suggest that the 'kailyard' parochial pictures accomplished the consensus and concealed the 'hypocracies' by a series of what I see to be 'triumphs'.

Firstly, the bulk of the novels, which is, those consisting of plotless parish cameos, celebrate the triumph of locals over aliens, particularly those aliens who, by speaking standard English, are pompous into the bargain. Typically, ordinary parish 'bodies' triumph over the, inevitably jumped-up, stranger.\* Thus, importantly, this triumph imports

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\* A typical triumph is that of Drumtochty's master of rhetoric, Jamie Soutar, over the "fussy little man from the South", Mr Urijah Hopps, resulting in the debunking of the said Mr Hopps, and the chorus's congratulation of Jamie, in the assurance that, "Yon man'll keep a quiet cheep 'till he gets Sooth" (49)

also an element of 'populism' - how the local heroes get the better of those who, by virtue of their status as aliens, are also those of an ill-defined 'higher order'. Crucially, this 'higher order' is not described in terms of social class; rather, the enemy, common to all levels and ranks of society, is what modern parlance terms "snobs". As the parish accomplishes this triumph, so schisms engendered by structured social inequality blurr, mutate, and finally, disappear, as a subject for radical attention.

A second aspect of the 'kailyard school' concerns the manner in which its novelists represented the language of the "Scots" parish\*. George Blake reassures us that even the Scottish reader finds certain passages in the kailyard novel "just a bit too deliberately elaborate" (50). Indeed, Blake finds in J.M. Barrie's work a "willful" handling of a dialect with which Blake himself is familiar (51). In some detail\*\*, Blake makes the case that Barrie really manufactured his own phonetics system which he "continually put into the mouths of his characters" (52). While Blake is right to note the "quaintness" which this achieved, this "quaintness" also helped to isolate these parish

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\* A typical passage, this time from S.R. Crockett, contains a nostalgic anecdote providing the information that "they got unco begunk", in which circumstance, a recently purchased bull, "had been gaun galravagin about". Further loose translation suggests that the bull succeeds in 'treeing' a local worthy, from which high sanctuary, "he hung, .....baa-haain' for his minnie" (53).

\*\* a detail which includes a critical reference to J.M. Barrie's understanding of the amphibrach.

idylls from the contemporary social structure: as kailyard life failed to correspond to the realities of the second half of the nineteenth century, so its cultivators constructed a lexicon to give it a separate substance. Thus, conducted in this "odd variant of English" (54), the bucolic morality plays of these tartan 'characters' could celebrate the 'rural idyll', unbridled by the cold facts of life in a society undergoing rapid industrialisation. Further, when the kailyard language did resemble standard Scots, its 'Scottishness' was eulogised as certain cryptic phrases were endowed with special significance - thus the Drumtochty narrator took nineteen lines to define the mysterious term, "couthy" - and in this process, extra connotations could be imported.

Moreover, while this language, both special and separate, could provide humour for reader and alien alike\*, it was also the source of yet another, and more complicated, triumph. Thus, although the 'local lad' could be construed as daft, both he, and the parish, had a kind of triumph: the kind of the idiot over the urbane, of naivety over sophistication, of innocence over corruption, of the country over the city. Further, the sharing of a special language helped to "demonstrate that sense of shared community" (55).

Importantly also, the kailyard novels frequently elaborated the

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\* For example, a Drumtochty emigre who ended-up as a police constable in London, after delivering the requested directions to an inhabitant of that metropolis in 'kailyardese', noticed that the inquirer, "gied awa' lauchin' like tae split his sides" (56) - and we are told that this response to the Drumtochty emigre was by no means unusual!

triumph of 'Scottishness' over the 'sassenach', and thus, 'enemies' were located, and inevitably, defeated, in nationalist terms\*, thereby, again, accomplishing the mystification of structured social inequality.

Similiarly, when we witness the triumph of the 'chorus' over the 'alien', we are also witnessing a triumph of a 'fellowship' of a classless nature. The adventures of the kailyard chorus contain strong echoes of the 'fellowship' of the Scottish church, in which all men gained equality by virtue of their Christianity: before their Maker, all congregations were equal. Such echoes, or fragments - what Gramsci called "traces" - tend to lose their original internal theoretical consistency over time, but still pass into everyday thought processes. So the egalitarian ethos of the Scottish Christian Fellowship was reconstructed in the form of an equality before the parish, and in the face of the 'outlander'. The powerful egalitarian images of such a reconstruction stood in sharp contrast to any perception of class conflict.

Crucially, the 'kailyard school' triumphed over the present by eulogising the past; its 'silence' on the issue of the distress engendered by the rapid industrialisation of a capitalist system was accomplished through the use of 'retrospects'. Thus it is less "truly remarkable" than Blake thinks that, for instance, MacLaren's

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\* Thus the "wee man from the sooth" whom we have already seen trounced by Jamie Soutar, is later given another going over by a visiting Highland minister. (57)



"chronicles of the parish pump were written when he was a big man in the Presbyterian camp, the busy, energetic, immensely competent minister of a rich charge, in Liverpool of all places! (58)

Indeed, given what has been said about Stephen Duck, above, Ian MacLaren's bucolic reveries seem about par for the course.

It is important in this not to be diverted into celebrating, in the analysis, these parochial triumphs, and in so doing, failing to comment upon those evil things which were vanquished in the kailyard: what were these things against which the residents of the kailyard had triumphed?

On the one hand, the 'kailyard school' presents an image of the Scottish parish as inhabited by locals who were virtuous, ordinary 'bodies'; who spoke in a specialised Scots dialect and were nationalists; and whose main reference points derived from countryside matters which were essentially 'past', or at least, pre-industrial.

On the other hand, in something like the way Sassure comments that the image of a coin which is 'heads up' signifies its obverse of 'tails', so this image of the Scottish parish implies its own negative: in the kailyard's shadow lurked the drifter; rootless, and careless as to his parochial obligations. Such drifters were also 'outlanders', usually English, whose speech betrayed them as the 'snobs' they were; and as the products of industrial cities they were in addition, and unforgivably, the tactless representatives of the Present.

When this 'shadow' is considered together with the 'positive' image produced in the kailyard novels, the nature of the rural idyll becomes plain: a rich mystification of the 'hypocracies' noted above.

The point is highlighted if we contrast the parish imagery provided by the kailyarders with the work of Lewis Grassie Gibbon. While Grassie Gibbon, as Carter has noticed (59), commits the irony of a literary joke which places him with the kailyarders, he is profoundly at odds with them in his vision of the history of the Scottish working class. Sunset Song, the first of a trilogy, prefaces this vision, as is shown in the minister's memorial sermon, at the end of the book:

"They died for a world that is past, these men, but they did not die for this that we seem to inherit. Beyond this and us there shines a greater hope and a newer world, undreamt when these four died. But need we doubt which side the battle they would range themselves did they live today, need we doubt the answer they cry to us even now, the four of them, from the places of the sunset? (60)

The labourers, craftsmen, and agricultural workers, displaced from such a parish, did not learn radicalism when they were forced to move to cities like Glasgow. Rather, they took with them the bitterness of long experience of the "Master's Curse" which was adapted and reconstructed within an urban context.

Thus where the kailyarders fail to "dispense with retrospect" (61), Grassie Gibbon succeeds. When he describes migrants to the city, in Williams's terms, as those who

"did not need to be told what they had lost, any more than they needed to be told what they might struggle to gain in their new world" (62)

his descriptions stand in sharp contrast to the view of the kailyard parishoners, a view which was also, in essence, the view of the landowner, made up of "pastoral" or "traditional" descriptions (63).

This is why Raymond Williams finds Grassic Gibbon especially important:

".....he speaks for many who never got the chance to speak for themselves in recorded ways" (64);

and in the process, Grassic Gibbon highlights the reactionary nature of "retrospects" like those of the kailyarders.

In the second part of this chapter, I turn to the way in which this imagery of the local community appeared in the rhetoric of those individuals who were directly involved in debates about poverty, and the management of poverty.

## 2. The Local Community: The Scottish Parochial System

Writing in 1879, Dodds points out that the 'parish' by law and custom in Scotland, "was a very peculiar and independantly organised community" (65). He goes on to provide an illustration of the Scottish parish which contains many of the elements I have outlined above:

".....we shall suppose it to be of such moderate size that one may easily walk or ride to any part of it, and visit numerous families, in the course of a single day... Generally there is one great landowner.... with a number of other proprietors, small, but of good family. Then there are the farmers great and small, a few shopkeepers and tradesmen.... with the mass of handicraftsmen and

ploughmen and labourers, and always some nameless residuum - imbecile, vagrant, or ne'er-do-well." (66)

The significant landmarks in this stable system are described as follows:

"the prominent features, the characteristic symbols of the parish are - the parish church.... and generally, at no great distance, the parish school.... The heart of the parish beats there, - in that church and schoolhouse." (67)

The merits of such a system, or more typically, the problems created by its decline, had long been a conversation piece among Scottish churchmen. Thus, the Reverend Cairns of Dunbog continued his harangue against the hanky-panky of the bothy system by suggesting that,

"Another grand cause of this flagrant evil is to be found in the fluctuating and wandering lives of the ploughmen themselves, the married men frequently, the unmarried men always, 'flit' (move) at the end of one year's service. They thus acquire vagrant habits and uncontrollable minds. They are never long enough in one place to form useful connections .... They thus virtually cut themselves off from all the blessings of Christianity and civilization, and in a land of light, are literally roaming around in darkness." (68)

Mr Smith of Lesmahago is similarly unhappy,

"The people in general may be said to be of cleanly habits, which are impaired, however, in some degree, by the influx of strangers." (69)

- perhaps some of the Reverend Cairns' flock had wandered into Mr Smith's parish in the dark.

Reverend Lorimer's supplement to the Glasgow data entered in the Lanarkshire volume in 1840 bemoaned the departure of a bygone age when travellers recorded that even in public inns, they "never saw any drunk

nor heard any swear" (70), and where the families one encountered,

"though some of them mean.... had family worship performed morning and evening" (71). These were the days, writes Reverend Lorimer,

"of a missionary spirit and widespread church extension - days in which the parochial system was yet in its entirety and strength" (72).

The work of Chalmers provides a detailed expression of this view. As

Dodds suggests,

"Chalmers..... had the image thoroughly imprinted on his mind of the Scottish parish, - the church with its name, the school and the schoolhouse, the encircling homesteads and villages of parishioners; every individual personally known and frequently visited; and amongst them the poor and distressed, whose individual cases must be considered, with mercy indeed, but also with discrimination and fairness." (73)

While this image was certainly a "retrospect" which could defend the relationship between church and community, and, indeed, church and state, which had applied in pre-industrial Scotland, it was more than 'defensive': in such an idyllic community, the Victorian bourgeoisie could relax in an environment in which the workforce would remain quiescent and obliging. As Lord Percy put it, the master "could manage men with whom he could talk" (74)\*. This image also offered the

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\* An ex-Inspector's memoirs (75) celebrate the personal contact between "masters and men" with the following anecdote about a cobbler in the 1880's. The parish minister, passing his shop one day, heard the cobbler, Tom, swearing most horribly. "Oh Tom," said the minister, "what's the matter?" "Ach," said Tom, "it's him ower there", pointing to the new premises of a rival cobbler across the street. "Ah well," said the minister, "you shouldn't swear like that, but pray to the Lord and ask him to show you a way out." Some time later the minister called in again. "Well Tom," he said, "how are you getting on now?" "Ah," said Tom, with a cheery look, "God's the boy for him. He's died."



Victorian bourgeoisie a way of legitimating the parochial autonomy which they manipulated throughout the second half of the century.

Chalmers' first days as a minister in Glasgow, however, challenged this idyllic image. He wrote,

"I feel as if it were a mighty and impenetrable mass.... It is a number, it is a magnitude, it is an endless succession of houses and families...." (76).

In spite of this, the solution to the urban problems Chalmers encountered were informed by his 'parish' ideal. He proposed to break down the task of coping with industrialised Scotland into manageable portions by what he called the "Principle of Locality". He sought to create in the impersonal aggregations of industrial cities, simple personal relationships of the kind which he perceived existed in the country. He believed that the community bonds, the 'moral regimen' of the Scottish parochial system could be introduced into her cities. To this end, he advocated a scheme whereby the local clergyman would divide his parish into "small manageable districts" and assign them to his colleagues in order to create "a ready intermedium of communication" between himself and the people of his parish.

Again it is in this context that Chalmers couched his objections to any notion of State intervention in poverty. The second part\* of his metaphor of the "Four Fountains" again suggested that State intervention

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\* Fountains One and Two are discussed above in Chapter 3.

would foul up natural resources. The "third fountain" was, for example, the "sympathy of the wealthier for the poorer classes of society".

Chalmers held that much benefit could be gleaned from the contact of the poor with the rich. Indeed this was the common theme in the nineteenth century, although there seems to have been more to it than a desire to improve the morals of the poor. Harrison states, for example, that one of the aims of the Girls Friendly Society was that small acts of personal kindness would blur the clash of class interest (77). He quotes Lady Brabazon who wrote in 1883 on Girls Friendly Society country branches offering convalescence to town members:

"in these days, when class hatred, is, alas! but too often to be found, it is very pleasant to note the feelings of sympathy which such invitations engender: the rich woman and the poor girl are drawn together, the town denizen is made acquainted with kindly country folk and country ways" (78).

The point is made even more clearly by a Glasgow minister, who wrote in the New Statistical Account on trade unions, which included, he thought,

"violent wrong headed fools.... a class to be found in all communities.... that the working class are becoming more intelligent, every good man must observe with delight; but they are as yet in a transition state, at the point when a 'little learning is a dangerous thing'. They are like raw recruits with good weapons in their hands, more likely to wound themselves.... Before they can be called intelligent .... they must dig deeper into the pure science of morals, economy and politics.... and.... those solid works which calmly, deliberately, and honestly, treat the great principles of human nature, and the essential conventional laws of human nature." (79)

The solution to whatever had given him the wind up, for the Reverend Macfarlane, lay in the contact between middle and working class:

"It is the duty, as it is in the interest, of all masters,

and all ministers of religion, and of all good men.... to promote within their own sphere, by kindly, free, and frequent discourse, as well as by pecuniary arrangement, the consummation and progress of this most desirable object." (80)

Writing earlier in the century, Chalmers was not unaware of the problems involved. He observed, for example, that in the manufacturing towns, the "encounter" between capitalist and labourer is "more an intercourse of collision, and is greatly less an intercourse of kindliness" (81) than it is in provincial towns. Again his solution is to use religion for "secular" purposes, and to

"multiply the agents of Christianity among us, whose delight it may be to go forth among the people on no other errand than that of pure goodwill." (82)

Such strategies however, were based on updating the 'natural resources' of the traditional Scottish local community. Chalmers argued that consideration of the English experience, suggested that State interference in this natural resource system, "has transformed the whole character of charity by turning a matter of love into a matter of litigation"(83). Chalmers saw public assistance as placing the rich and poor

"in position of adversaries, the one party challenging what they feel to be their rightful allowances; the other resisting what they feel to be interminable and at length ruinous demands." (84)

The "fourth fountain" suggested Chalmers, compensated for a factor which is favourable to the operation of the third. He observed that there existed "local distance between the wealthy and the poor", but of far more importance to the sympathy of the rich for the poor "do we

hold the sympathy of the poor for each other." Chalmers held that "there is a common feeling among men of the operative classes inspired by the very position which they in common occupy." Chalmers was fond of dwelling on this point and stressed that "when a minister in Glasgow, where he had a parish of 10,000 people, the poorest of the poor," he learned that, "the spontaneous charity of neighbours for each other was a more certain as well as a more abundant source of relief.... than.... legal charity." He instanced cases where, when a legal system of charity was present, "the population.... did feel themselves discharged from a responsibility for each other's wants and released from the duty of being each other's keepers."

The harmony of such an ideal of the local community with that of the domestic community is shown by Chalmers himself when he wrote:

"Let next door neighbours be supplied with one common object of reverence and regard in the clergyman who treats them alike as members of the same parochial family" .  
(85 my emphasis)

An essential and clear element in Chalmers' "Locality Principle" was, in his own terms, creating a system in which members would be "each other's keepers". Moreover, Dodds summarised, and admired, Chalmers' vision and practice thus:

"the importance of breaking up the impermeable mass.... and then employing upon each separate little locality every Christianizing and civilising agency.... It was ever afterwards by this charm of LOCALISM that he sought to win back the outcast population of large towns...".  
(86 my emphasis)

This is like Cockburn discovering, in the Victorian roots of contemporary community work, the strategy of

"bringing privileged intellectuals into working class neighbourhoods to live alongside and raise the cultural level of local provision....". (87)

Rather than construing such visits by rich to poor purely as the private philanthropic activities of men and women of 'conscience', it is clear from the above that many nineteenth century observers considered that such activities had a "civilising", "educational" function. In other words, the maintenance of local communities, for Chalmers and his contemporaries, was important in that they believed that such "localism" was the more easily 'managed' by personal middle class intervention.

Secondly, that part of the community "ideal" which stressed the generation of self-help and mutual support, where the duty of each was clearly of "being each other's keeper", can be identified as elements in the contemporary notion of "community development" which have a long history in western social thought. Mayo examines the period of British colonial rule in Africa, and later American colonialism in the East, and in Latin America, and concludes that "community development" in these cases, rather than attempting to improve standards, by fostering community self-help, should be understood as having the political implications of attempting to build up local bulwarks against insurgency, particularly the threat of communism.

Moreover, as Mayo argues, from the point of view of the status



quo,

"Local community issues are probably the easiest to incorporate.... the groups can be isolated and ignored by the very fact of their local base and their consequent lack of wider, less fragmented support." (88)

In other words, the nature of the community 'ideal' was such that it was classless and a-political. Similarly, some views of contemporary "community development" locate its roots in the "Judaean-Christian belief in men and women as the children of God". (89) Yet this religious genealogy highlights a paradox. While on the one hand 'community' rhetoric stresses community solidarity as a potential force for solving, for example, urban problems, as Raymond Plant points out,

"the Church points toward a heavenly city.... Instead of building up a shared reciprocating community life, the ends of human existence are seen by the Christian to lie outside of the immediate society of which he is a member". (90)

The ideology of localism in the nineteenth century, and to an extent today, survived this paradox. This survival however, was partly possible because, as the 'domestic community' rhetoric desocialised and isolated members, so the rhetoric of the parish enforced localism, and indeed 'parochial' attitudes and explanatory systems.

Further, the 'local community' in the nineteenth century performed certain ideological functions in a period which saw an increase in the scale of State intervention. In its efforts to regulate the effects of capitalism, the State has been forced to intervene in more and more areas of the economy, in addition to a greater range of social,

political and ideological institutions. The more complex and technical its interventions have become, the more difficult these have become to oversee. The retention, or intervention, of the 'parish' ideal, in this context therefore can be understood as a management system - a strategy which created 'overseeable' units. The fact that Scotland's amended Poor Law system retained the 'parish unit', whereas in England parishes were collapsed for the purposes of Poor Law administration, can be understood as an attempt to facilitate the government from Whitehall.

Secondly, and more pertinent to this thesis, the local community in nineteenth century Scotland can be understood as a device which helped to accomplish the acrobatics of legitimating welfarism and sustaining individualism. Notions of "community" do contain in part, although in the "ideal" form, elements which are counter to governmental and institutional values. Just as the family could be seen as an alternative to State intervention, so too the parish could be, and indeed for Chalmers was, seen as an alternative to collectivism. In this context, the amendment of the Scottish Poor Law in 1845 can be understood as adapting a traditional rhetoric to suit the secular and ideological needs of Welfare Capitalism.

As we have noted above, however, recent theories have suggested a reworking of some of the 'orthodox' Marxist treatments of such concerns. Gramsci's insights into concepts of 'hegemony' and 'ideology' are important, and indeed, as we have seen, can provide points of convergence for the various writers and critics who occupy

what has been called the "New Left". In particular here it is important to stress that hegemonic domination was not posed by Gramsci as merely a rarified system of ideas. While therefore the image cluster of 'localism' provided the framework through which nineteenth century Scottish people understood, 'made sense' of, and represented the social world, the ideological work of this image cluster took place in an institutional "site" (91). Whereas thus far in this chapter, the text has identified the importance of 'ideological struggle', of subjective/cultural factors in hegemonic domination, it is of equal importance to note that ideological struggle is located in specific practices. In other words, just as in the previous chapter it was important to consider the institutional dimension of the 'domestic community', so here it is equally important to avoid an 'abstracted' conception of the 'local community'. As Hall has stressed,

"....ideology is a practice....And it is generated, produced and reproduced in specific settings (sites) - especially, in the apparatuses of ideological production which produce social meanings and distribute them throughout society...." (92)

As in the case of the ideology of the 'domestic community' in the last chapter, the examination of the Poor Law data, as regards the 'locality principle', which follows, is in terms of how the operation of the New Scottish Poor Law was indeed such a "site" of ideological production and reproduction.

In this context then, what we have seen of the image cluster of the Scottish parish leads us to hypothesise that the operation of Poor Relief will produce and reinforce values of the stability and order of the local community. Specifically, we might hypothesise that applicants who could show some evidence of 'belonging' to the local community would be more favourably treated by the Law than 'outsiders'. The clause of the Act of 1845 concerning 'Settlement', or parochial registration, means that the data can inform us on this, below. Secondly, we might hypothesise that where residential stability could be found, it would be equated with moral stability by the Poor Law officials, and consequently, the applicant would be more likely to be offered 'cash relief' as opposed to the 'supervision' of the Poor House. And similarly, thirdly we might hypothesise that this institutional site of the ideology of the local community would see the Relief of applicants who did move as discriminating in favour of those who moved only within the Parish itself.

In the third and final part of this chapter, then, my concern, shifting from the 'image' to the 'institution', is with the way in which the rhetoric of the 'local community' informed the operation of the Poor Law in mid-nineteenth century Glasgow.

### 3. The Local Community, Residence, and the Practice of Poor Relief

An important "factor of eligibility" facing the applicant was the Poor Law ruling on the Law of Settlement, or parochial registration, that is, before he or she could become a bona fide applicant, the poor person had to produce evidence of the fact that he or she had acquired registration in some parish in Scotland. This convention had a long tradition in the Scottish treatment of the poor, and since firstly, it is not dealt with in standard accounts of the Poor Law, and secondly, since it provided an important 'discretionary' area for the local administrator, it is worth elaboration.

The Law of Settlement in Scotland dated back to an Act in 1535 which ordained,

"that na beggars be thoiled to beg in ane parochin that ar born in another".

A second Act in 1579 elaborated on this position, instructing magistrates to consider as eligible for assistance,

"all aged, pure, impotent, and decayed persons borne within that parochin, or quilkis war dwelling, or had their maist common resorte, in the said parochin the last seven yeirs by past." (93)

That is, by these statutes settlement was instituted by birth and by residence of seven years.

The only alteration introduced by the 1845 Poor Law Amendment Act was to make the qualification for gaining registration or settlement a



TABLE 1 : Poor Relief and Parish of Settlement

	City	Barony	Govan	Gorbals	Central/ South	Highlands	Eng/ Wales	Ireland	Others
Refused	9	5	1	0	3	4	0	4	0
Poorhouse	369	42	4	0	77	8	6	104	6
Cash	94	7	0	1	19	3	1	13	0
Other Relief	3	7	2	1	2	0	0	7	0
Totals	475	61	7	2	101	15	7	128	6

N = 802

(missing values = 94)

residence of five, as opposed to three years. In addition, it provided that a residential settlement should not be retained unless during any subsequent period of five years, at least one year was spent in the parish of residential settlement.

The data provided by the application schedules of the City Parish consists not only of a statement of the parish of settlement, but also a table of the residential history of each applicant (thereby providing the Inspector of Poor with a means of checking whether or not the above legal criteria had been satisfied).

On the issue of the applicant's parish of settlement, consideration of the 1871 data reflects the complexity of the picture. Table 1 above, provides a breakdown of the 1871 data for the City Parish of Glasgow, in terms of the outcome of the application, and the parish of settlement. Table 2 collapses the data in Table 1 to give comparative results for applicants with City parish settlement and other parish settlement.

TABLE 2 : Settlement and Outcome

	City Parish Settlement	Other Parish Settlement
	%	%
Offered Cash	94 (57.3)	44 (26.8)
Refused Relief	9 (5.5)	17 (10.4)

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As Table 2 makes clear, the legal position was enforced, and the Scottish Parochial System underwritten, to a certain extent.

Whereas 17 of those applications refused had no legal settlement in the City Parish, only 9 City Parish applications were refused. Comparison of refusals with the number of applicants who received cash suggests a relationship between settlement and outcome. In other words, it seems that the applicant from the City Parish was twice as likely to receive cash, whereas the applicant from another parish was twice as likely to be refused relief.

On the other hand, it is evident from Table 2 that the legal position was not always adhered to, in that, applicants who had settlement outwith the City Parish of Glasgow were offered relief, in spite of the fact that, legally, they were not eligible for it.

The picture is complicated partly by the fact that, as Paterson suggests, while the machinery had been devised for the removal of, for example, the non-Scottish poor to their parish of settlement,

"the removal controversy was not entirely resolved and remained a bone of contention throughout the late nineteenth century." (94)

Moreover, it was often more expensive and more troublesome to remove the pauper to his or her parish of settlement than it was to offer some kind of relief 'on the spot'. As the 1869 Select Committee heard from a member of the Board of Supervision, by contrast to England, excellent reciprocity arrangements existed between the parishes of Scotland, so that,

".... a parish which relieves a pauper resident in it, if

the pauper belongs to another parish, may make a charge against that parish; and it constantly happens so.... in Scotland, therefore, the number of removals between parish and parish is probably very small...." (95).

The existence of this facility for financial reimbursement does not mean, however, that 'settlement' was not an important factor of the pauper's eligibility for relief. Indeed, as I shall point out in Chapter 5, lengthy and tortuous debates arose between Inspectors in different parishes over the registration of paupers. But parochial reciprocity did mean that the settlement issue was dealt with at a "discretionary" level, rather than invoking the formal machinery for refusal and removal.

Moreover, the relatively high incidence of cash relief for "unregistered" applicants is partly due to the fact that institutional relief was, as I have pointed out, expensive. It was also due, however, to the fact that small cash payments made reimbursement simpler to negotiate, and consequently, made it easier to avoid admitting legal responsibility for the applicant.

At a less formal level, the influence of the rhetoric of the local community is more apparent. The fact that the data include details on residential history, allows us (and presumably also the Inspector who recorded these details), to know something of how many times the applicant changed his or her address, i.e., this information provides us with an indicator of residential mobility/stability. Table 3 presents a complete breakdown of the 1871 data on the form of Poor

TABLE 3 : Poor Relief and Number of Addresses

		NUMBER OF ADDRESSES																				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	17	30	40	41	"various"	Total
Poor-house	27	53	71	56	49	47	32	28	20	22	8	7	5	0	2	1	2	1	1	1	173	605
Cash	19	22	23	20	8	8	14	3	1	4	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	6	133
Other Relief	0	1	3	4	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22

("refused" = 24, Missing values = 112)

N = 760



Relief offered, and the number of addresses listed by the applicant.

The column "various" refers to the schedules which contain a residential history which was so lengthy and unclear, that the Inspector recorded it as "many" or "various". Table 4 collapses these data into three categories, or degrees, of residential mobility, and poorhouse or cash relief. The system of categorisation which is based on divisions which produced groups of roughly the same number of applicants in each group, is shown below.

Degree of residential mobility	Number of Addresses	Total Applications (Poorhouse, Cash, "Other")
Low	1, 2, 3	219
Medium	4, 5, 6, 7	242
High	more than 8	299
N = 760		

TABLE 4 : Degree of Residential Mobility and Poor Relief

	Low %	Medium %	High %	
Poorhouse	151 (20)	184 (24.9)	270 (36.6)	605
Cash	64 (8.6)	50 (6.7)	19 (2.6)	133
Totals	215	234	289	738

Table 4 thus shows that the higher the residential mobility of the applicant, the more likely he or she is to be 'confined' to the poorhouse.

That the applicant who was relatively stable residentially was more likely to receive "outdoor" relief, while the applicant with a less stable residential pattern was more likely to be offered the supervised relief of the poorhouse suggests that considerations similar to those discussed in Chapter 3 informed local decision-making. The rhetoric of the locality principle suggested that not only was the moral worth of the residentially mobile in question, but also, as I have argued, that they were more difficult to control. This is confirmed by taking, as a rough measure of how far applicants moved when they changed address, the number of moves into, and out of, the parish, which their residential history signifies. Table 5 below, provides a breakdown of the 1871 data in these terms.

TABLE 5 : Number of changes into and out of  
the parish, and outcome of application

	Number of changes									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
Offered Poorhouse	219	99	55	31	10	5	3	2	181	
Offered Cash	85	31	12	6	4	4	2	1	14	
Totals	304	130	67	37	14	9	5	3	195	764 = N

Comparison of those individuals who never cross the parish boundary in their residential history with those applicants who have more

than eight changes of parish suggests another factor which affected the outcome of applications for Poor Relief. Table 6 makes the results clear. It again shows that applicants displaying high residential mobility were much less likely to be trusted with outdoor relief.

TABLE 6 : Number of Changes  
of Parish and Poor Relief

	No changes		More than 8 changes	
		%		%
Offered poorhouse	219	43.9	181	36.3
Offered Cash	85	17.0	14	2.8
Totals	304		195	N = 499

The significance of such results, in conceptual terms is to suggest that the residential and geographical mobility of applicants were variables in decisions made about their applications. In this way, the 'grass-roots' operation of Poor Relief in 1871 can be understood as being informed by, and sustaining, the system of values about the Scottish parish which I have called the "local community". In the Scottish Poor Law, then, not only did the parish provide an administrative and geographical unit, but also a system of meanings which informed the treatment of applications for Poor Relief. In so doing, as I have argued, it articulated problems of poverty in terms of moralisms: the development of a more interventionist role by the State was thereby contexted in a rhetoric which left unquestioned existing social and economic structures.

## CHAPTER 5

## The Discipline of Poor Relief

In the two preceding chapters, I have attempted to re-assemble a version of the Scottish mid-Victorian social matrix or deep structure by considering its two central images, the family and the parish, in both their positive and negative aspects. In this chapter, I shall be concerned more directly with the day-to-day workings of the New Poor Law within this matrix.

Thus the suggestions in chapters 3 and 4, that certain groups of poor were considered to be in need of the 'supervision' offered by the poorhouse, invites some examination of this 'supervision' itself. Moreover, it will be argued that the assessment of an applicant's eligibility for Poor Relief, and the resulting scrutiny of his or her circumstances, also amounted to a 'supervision', albeit of a more complex nature - and this too invites examination.

### 1. The Poorhouse

These concerns are informed directly by what Michel Foucault has to say about the birth, and significance, of the prison. He comments on the way in which 'medieval' penal theory, which stressed the spectacle of public punishment, gave way to an institutionalisation of imprisonment based on quite different theoretical premises. In the case of the New Poor Law, halfway through the nineteenth century, we witness

a similar shift: the management of poverty which had once been carried out in the parish by local moral entrepreneurs was now institutionalised both in the sense that it became the responsibility of the State, and in the literal sense that, after 1845, Scotland's long-standing tradition of outdoor relief declined. Thus, while in its first Report, the Central Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland stated that it "had no power to sanction the abolition of outdoor relief in any parish", its second report contains plans for urban and rural poorhouses commissioned from architects, together with detailed notes on the rules and regulations necessary in such institutions; and in a few years time, the Board's fifth Report contains a perfect exposition, and recommendation, of the function of the English Workhouse as a means of testing the genuine nature of applicants for relief. All this is reflected in the fact that, by 1862 there were nearly four times as many poorhouses in Scotland as there had been before the Act of 1845.

Now, where traditional Scottish history is, as we have seen, locked into an assessment of this development in terms of the 'triumphalist' criteria of 'justice' and 'adequacy', Foucault's discussion frees us from such an obsession by suggesting that the development of 'carceral' institutions should be seen as a change in objective, rather than in attitude. He argues that in considering the growth of 'carceral' institutions, we are not witnessing some triumphant march towards enlightenment and "a new respect for the humanity of the



condemned" (1), but rather the emergence of a tendency "towards a closer penal mapping of the social body" (2). Foucault's thesis, in fact, understands 'the prison' in terms of the 'policing' of certain ideological crises: 'carceral' institutions, then, are viewed as part of the State's 'velvet glove' which controls through the techniques of discipline and dressage (3). In other words, 'incarceration' is more than repression: what was involved in the shift away from the public punishment of the body, towards a scrutiny of the offender's "soul", was a political tactic with 'positive' and complex social functions which sought, with Servan, the constraint of the workers "by the chains of their own ideas" (4). Moreover, the forging of such chains required methods of dressage, or training, which were, above all, detailed. As Foucault stresses,

"The meticulousness of the regulations, the fussiness of the inspections, the supervision of the smallest fragment of life and of the body will soon provide, in the context of the school, the barracks, the hospital or the workshop, a laicized content...." (5).

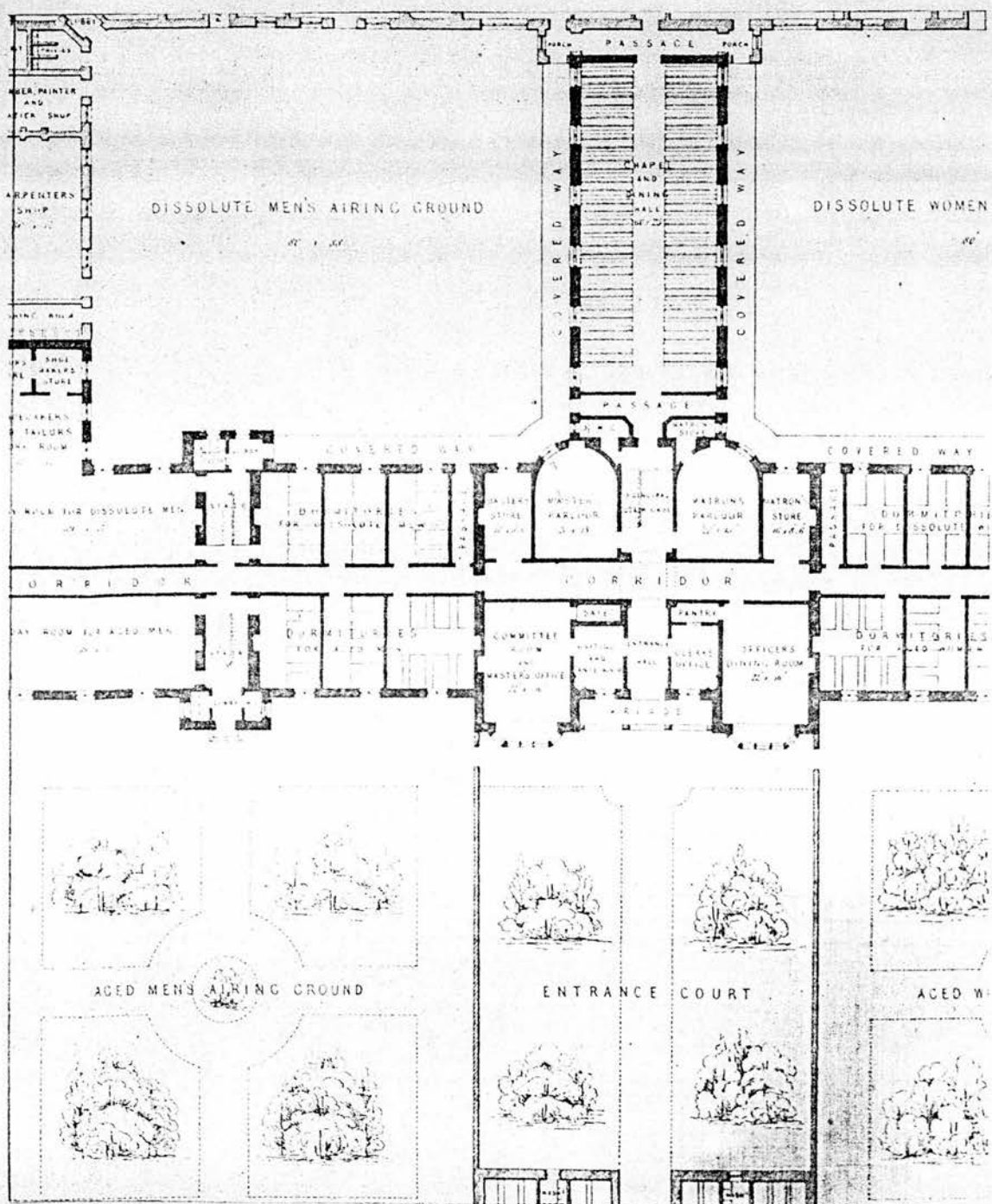
I shall suggest, below, that the Scottish 'workhouse test' also showed an "awareness of these small things for the control of men" (6). Foucault certainly gives us a good idea of how such dressage was rehearsed: he describes several 'carceral' disciplinary procedures, including the dividing and sub-dividing of space into 'cells'; the control of activity through the imposition of the rhythm of a time-table; discipline through 'exercise'; and the routinization of individuality.

Much of this seems to make sense when applied to the Scottish Poorhouse. For instance, in their second Report, in 1847, the Board of Supervision published the findings of architects it had employed, having "resolved to furnish.... a plan for an urban .... and rural (poorhouse).. which might.... serve as guides to Parochial Boards" (7). The "model design" provided by these architects far exceeded the parameters of technical drawing. Thus, one of the first points of their report is stressed:

"The form of the plan is of great consequence, and we have chosen that which we consider gives the greatest amount of supervision, and the most complete separation of the sexes .... As the arrangement is described, it will be seen that the supervision is as perfect as in the radiating plan, which was adopted for several of the first houses in England...." (8).

The "radiating plan" referred to in this passage closely met the specifications and requirements of Bentham's 'panopticon', in which, as Foucault points out, the inmate of each 'cell' was visible to a central observer. (9) Indeed, the ideal type of the 'panopticon' was infinitely adaptable. Foucault notes, for instance, that certain institutions require that the 'supervision' or 'surveillance' is broken down. This is done socially, by creating a hierarchy of supervision, as in the use of prefects in grammar schools, or prisoner-guards in concentration camps; and such an integrated social structure may replace the physical structure of the 'panopticon'. So from the detailed 'model design' of the Scottish Poorhouse, its architects select an emphasis on the opportunities it affords for surveillance: they comment that

THE MODEL POORHOUSE



NOTE: while the airing ground for the aged poor was planted with trees, no such adornments were allowed to interrupt the surveillance of the 'dissolute'.

"There is only one entrance to the main building, and the officer's apartments are so situated that no ingress or egress can be obtained without passing under their notice" (10).

Similarly, the need for probationary wards "is very evident, as paupers could not be distributed throughout the house without undergoing some examination." (11) Again, the master's and matron's parlours are "so situated that they command effectively the airing yards for the dissolute class of both sexes." (12) While the design of the chapel makes provision for a gallery to be "used by the matron, master, and other officers, from which they will overlook the paupers" (13), so the nurses room "overlooks the idiot's yards, which are placed on each side of the infirmary" (14). Schooling has not been left out, and the schoolmaster's room has "a bow window which enables him to see the boys in any part of their playground" (15). (See above, page 182)

To get the 'bodies' under constant supervision, however, was merely a step towards a rearrangement of the 'souls'. By 1851, in its fifth Report, the Board of Supervision urged the parochial boards to discourage abuses by making

"work, confinement, and discipline" (16, the Board's emphasis) the conditions for pauper relief. Such an exhortation is immediately followed, in the Report, by the means by which its goals might be achieved - the Rules and Regulations for the Management of Poor - houses (17). A lengthy section on the "Discipline of the Inmates" (18) includes disciplines such as that:

"All the inmates..... shall rise, be set to work, leave off work, and go to bed at such times, and shall be allowed such intervals for their meals as the House-Committee shall direct - and these several times shall be notified by the ringing of a bell." (19)

Detailed instructions as to disciplines of diet, clothing and conduct follow (20) including the direction that children were to be given a basic education in the '3 - r's' and that, moreover,

"..... such other instruction shall be imparted to them as shall fit them for service or other employment, and train them to the habits of usefulness, industry and virtue." (21)

Further, what Foucault terms "micro-penalties" (22) were applied to those who could be deemed - in block capitals - DISORDERLY: viz., those who

"..... shall make any noise when silence is ordered to be kept;  
Or who shall use obscene or profane language;  
Or shall, by word or deed, revile or insult any person;  
Or shall threaten to strike or assault any person;  
Or shall not duly cleanse his person;  
Or shall refuse or neglect to work.....;  
Or shall pretend sickness;  
Or shall play at cards, or other game of chance;  
Or shall enter.... the ward .... appropriated to any class of inmates other than that to which he belongs;  
Or shall behave improperly at public worship.....;  
Or shall not return after the appointed time.....;  
Or shall wilfully disobey any lawful order....." (23).

Punishment for such offences included the requirement of "one or two hours of extra work each day" (24), and other "micro-penalties" such as depriving the poor person of certain "articles of diet" (25). The punishment of solitary confinement was reserved for the harder core, deemed "Refractory", whose crimes included actually striking a poorhouse official, being drunk, and then more or less the same list as for the 'Disorderly', with the addition of the word "wilfully" as a preface to



each offence. (26) The botanical etymology of the term "refracted" - I suppose a modern equivalent would be "bent" - is interesting in that it closely parallels the "straightening" model shown by Foucault\* - thus men, like refracted plants, could be made to "go straight" by being "trained".

Importantly, also, the discipline of the poorhouse involved classifying inmates in ways which divided them in their common experience of poverty. The Board's fifth Report, for example, suggests a five-fold classification of men, boys, women, girls, and babies, but urges that "the said classes may be farther (sic) subdivided", and that

"Each class, or subdivision of a class shall respectively remain in the part of the Poorhouse assigned to them without communication with any other class, or subdivision of a class" (27).

Such advice did not fall on deaf ears. Indeed, much of the Victorian concern with symmetry, regularity and order, together with its "meticulous observation of detail" (28) could be found in the Barnhill Poorhouse in Glasgow at that time. The original building was a quadrangular shape and four storeys high. Inside the quadrangle there were four identical courtyards, separated by a central corridor which ran the full length of the building. There was a separate courtyard for men, for women, for boys and for girls. Further subdivision existed, including one which made sure that inmates could be recognised by the tartan scarves they wore, and which were different for each sub-class (29).

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\* See in particular, the plate he includes of N. Andry's orthopaedic straightening of deformed children: this method is illustrated by the metaphor of a bent sapling being "trained" by being tied to a stake.

Certainly, many of the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1869 were convinced that even when a short term financial outlay was involved, the classification of inmates was important. R.H.Isdale, a member of the Dundee Parochial Board, for example, found it advisable to "recommend a classification of the inmates, so as to separate the inmates more from one another" (30). Where this necessitated alterations to increase the "number of common rooms" and provide "more divisions in the building", it was felt that the "advantages derivable" would "fully warrant any temporary expenditure" (31). R.S.Muir, chairman of the parochial board of the City Parish of Glasgow was at one with this. His evidence comments on the large number of pauper inmates dealt with, and stresses the classification and segregation of the inmates of the poor-house of the City Parish:

2518 "We have first of all the women, deserted wives, and children, and women with illegitimate children; they are in one portion of the building; and then again we have the better class of poor in another; and then we have the old worthy people that have been for years in the house, in another portion of the building; and we have also a portion for the children" (32).

Such moral criteria introduced an almost limitless set of further subdivisions. Thus Dr. Wood's evidence\* to the Select Committee of 1869 distinguished between that group in need of "correction" and a second class of the "industrious poor". While Dr. Wood leaves us unsure as to the nature of the second group, except to hint that it consists of "poor old men and women"; we are left in no doubt, however, as to the

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\* This is the same man who, as we have seen in chapter 3, advocated genocide as a solution to illegitimacy.

inhabitants of the first category which include "the sturdy beggar or prostitute", all in all, "the scum and off-scouring of society". (33)

Again, Foucault's discussion frees us from questions about the 'justice' or 'fairness' of all of this. Rather than importing twentieth century 'Fabian' criteria of Welfare into history, and bemoaning the fact that the Poorhouse failed to deal adequately with poverty, let us, like Foucault, substitute an alternative hypothesis: namely, that the Poorhouse succeeded "extremely well" in producing paupers, "a specific type,.... politically or economically less dangerous - and, on occasion, usable". (34) Part of this process involved restraining the poor of an industrial society "by the chains of their own ideas" - and this, in turn, involved a remixing of the earlier fragments, or "traces" of family and community images.

Indeed, the identification of this process is facilitated by recollecting how Hall et al summarise Levi-Strauss' primitive myth-maker, the "bricoleur". Like this individual, the day-to-day operation of the New Poor Law assembled,

"the oddments and fragments of (a) culture, combined in ever new ways, to construct meanings and to reduce the world to orderly shape and meaningful categories: the bricks and mortar of a house of theory" (35).

In our case, such a "house of theory" was physically embodied in a 'house of discipline', which sought to train its "refracted" inmates in terms of the 'immorality' of their poverty. As we have seen, above, in Chapter 2, the poverty of those in Glasgow's District 4 in 1871, a

poverty mostly 'relieved' in the City's poorhouse, had a clearly structural genesis: whether a change in the mode of production, or a slump in the world market. So, to frame the treatment of this poverty in a language, and a series of institutional practices, of moral correction was to set a complicated ideological task for both local Poor Law Inspectors, and the poor themselves. In fact, a question more relevant than the 'triumphalist's' inquiry as to the 'justice/size' of the New Poor Law, is the extent to which Poorhouse practice succeeded in creating a 'non-class' of 'the Poor', drawn largely from, but no longer a part of, the industrial working class. Yet still, the discipline which was imposed on this 'non-class' in the poorhouse was a 'time-work discipline', and it was being imposed, as we have seen,

"In all these ways - by a division of labour; the supervision of labour; fines; bells and clocks; money incentives; preachings and schoolings....." (36).

Edward Thompson's remark, above, addresses the eighteenth century, and by 1871, we are witnessing, not the formation of "new labour habits"(37), but the sustaining of old ones in the face of a poverty which is the product of structural factors. A strong theme, running right through the deliberations on Poor Relief was indeed, the need to support the virtues, and values, of work. In his evidence to the Select Committee in 1869, for example, the Reverend Dr. Begg, on the subject of poor-houses, got quite carried away:

4545 "..... I would make every human being within the walls of them work. Everybody can work less or more.... I would

put.... (the poorhouses) also where there is peat moss, where they could dig their own fuel." (37)

Such discipline was also exercised in less direct ways. Arguably, the manner in which any application for Poor Relief (whether or not its outcome was 'carceral' relief) was subjected to, as will be shown, below, the severest scrutiny, meant that the assessment of eligibility was in fact a

".... normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them". (38)

It is to this 'examination' of eligibility that I shall turn in the second part of this chapter.

The road to a proper understanding of the 'discipline' of this examination, however, is a hard one, and this is for two reasons. Firstly, the rules laid down by the Act of 1845 provided, as will be discussed below, far from clear guidelines for the local Poor Law Officials. Secondly, as a consequence, the criteria employed to judge the applicant's eligibility for relief were also unclear; and the lack of attention given to this whole process by Scottish historians means that the 'nuts and bolts' of the Inspector's decision-making are shrouded in mystery.

Rather than construing such circumstances as difficulties, however, this part of the chapter will treat them as generating a research object: how were decisions made about the eligibility of people who applied for



Poor Relief? Importantly, in attempting to answer this question, I am, again, not concerned with whether the local Inspectors of Poor made 'good' or 'bad' decisions, nor whether their decisions were 'just' or 'unjust', nor 'liberal' or 'mean'.

Instead, I am attempting to understand what such decisions 'accomplished', or better, sought to accomplish\*. To this end, much of this section is descriptive, and seeks to provide an 'ethnography' of the 'coal-face work' involved in the administration of Poor Relief. At the same time I shall be concerned to understand such 'work' in terms of its attempt to 'discipline' applicants within the values provided by images of the family and the parish: in other words, to examine how the day-to-day work of the Poor Law sought to formalise and mobilise the broader problematics of familism and localism.

From a discussion of the criteria which informed the Inspector's treatment of applications, I shall evaluate the significance and meaning of the 'discretion' of Poor Law officials. My argument will be that part of the Inspector's 'ideological work' was concerned with the construction of moral hierarchies which both offered a rationale for deciding the outcome of applications, and a means of operationalising and sustaining other rhetorics. In this context, I shall consider, in particular, the use of medical criteria as a means whereby the logic of

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\* As we shall see, now and again, the Glaswegian "lads", to borrow Willis's term, demonstrated that their 'pairs' included the ability to resist the injunctions of the Poor Law.

the Poor Law was legitimated. Firstly, though, what was the nature of the 'examination' which ensued when someone applied for Poor Relief?

## 2. The 'Examination' of Eligibility

Arguably, the Poor Law Inspector's main task was to gather and assess information pertaining to a set of 'factors' which operated in rendering the applicant eligible, or ineligible, for Poor Relief. While the nature of this task had been defined, formally, by the Act of 1845, as Mackay pointed out in a book intended as a "manual of poor law practice" for administrators,

"there has been built up an administrative edifice of law and usage that, while it has no direct basis in statute, profoundly affects the practice".(39)

In this way, one "factor of eligibility" (40) was whether the applicant had the alternative support of relatives. Thus the Chairman of the Central Board wrote to his Parochial officers in 1875 and expressed the feeling that,

".... a large number of persons in Scotland receive relief as paupers whose collateral relatives are well able to support them.... I am fully persuaded that a judicious use of the Poor house in such cases would induce the relatives to perform the clear moral duty which devolves on them".(41)

Examination of the City Parish records suggests that much emphasis was placed on investigating this possibility before relief was given. Indeed, equal energy seems to have been expended in investigating the circumstances of the relatives as was devoted to the applicant. The

following case, taken from the schedules, provides an example of the operation of this factor of eligibility on the Glasgow Poor Law of the 1870's.

The applicant, female, single, a servant by trade, applied for relief on the grounds that she was disabled due to her age (she was sixty-three). She had been examined by the Parish Medical Officer. It emerged from the information she supplied that she had an older brother. The following are the Inspector's remarks on the case:

"REMARKS

Older brother \_\_\_\_\_ married + 4 children, a salesman with \_\_\_\_\_, resides 175 Buchanan St., gives her 1/6 per week - his family are William, married + 4 children, a draper with \_\_\_\_\_, in Manchester; Mary, married + 2 children, to \_\_\_\_\_ a joiner in Cumberland St.; Elizabeth (Mrs Knox) a widow + 4 children (1 working as a cleaner); Agnes, married + no family." (42)

It is noteworthy that, with the exception of the sum the applicant received weekly from her brother, this Remarks section contains no direct information about the applicant. Secondly, the details on her brother are extensive. Not only is his own occupation inquired into, but also his own family are seen as relevant to the case in hand. Moreover, his family's families were taken as important factors in the case, the rationale presumably being that all these questions were necessary to ascertain whether the brother is in a position to perform his "clear moral duty".

This is enough to suggest that this factor of eligibility was a powerful one. Moreover, this hurdle was further complicated, at least

theoretically, by the fact that section 71 of the Act of 1845 authorised the parochial board which did grant relief to claim repayment from the applicant's "parents or other persons who may be legally bound to maintain him". As Mackay pointed out, this provision had little practical value since it was only possible to recover alimony when the persons who were legally liable were in a strong financial position themselves. Nevertheless, it emerges that sometimes recourse to relatives was made successfully, and from a study of "test-cases" Mackay attempted to construct some guidelines for the Inspector. From the reasonably detailed list of cases, one interesting point emerges: only those relatives who were in a direct line of ascent or descent were liable; there was no right of recourse against brothers or sisters. (43) Yet in examples like the one examined above, relatively detailed investigation of collateral relatives' finances was carried out. Presumably, even if a relative was not legally liable, if the Board found that his financial position was a strong one, they could exert pressure of an informal and "moral" kind on him to support a poor relative, simply by refusing the poor relative relief.

A second factor of eligibility facing the applicant was the level of his own income when in work. The Parochial Board were in the habit of sending out circulars to the employers of applicants for Poor Relief. The letter and circular sent by the Inspector in this connection are copied in Appendix 6. Since similar circulars were used in

this case to check up on the brother's financial position, some comment on the bureaucracy is appropriate.

Noteably, the fact that this request for information was incorporated into a standardised form, rather than a letter from the Inspector and a written reply from the employer, suggests that it was normal bureaucratic practice to obtain this particular information when determining the eligibility of the applicant. This is a good example of what Zimmerman meant when he pointed to the distinction between the assumed problematic nature of statements made by the applicant, and the assumed unproblematic nature of documents (44). This circular sent round by the Poor Law authorities indeed suggests that what the applicant said was considered by the Inspector to be no more than an unsubstantiated claim, requiring verification of some kind. It could be suggested that the "Employer's Statement of Earnings", on the other hand, was taken as unproblematic, and was seen as an obviously factual report about certain circumstances relevant to the determination of eligibility.

Further, that both the letter and the "Statement of Earnings" form asked not only for information on the applicant's earnings, but also what "industrious persons" earned at the same employment suggests that "industry" was also a criterion of eligibility, the implication being that if the applicant was found not to be industrious, his chances of being found eligible for Poor Relief would have been impaired. Given



that the word "industrious" has certain 'moral' connotations - the Inspector in this circular is also in fact asking if the applicant is lazy , and in this case, one could say that aspects of the character of the applicant are becoming relevant "factors of eligibility" - that is, to the seemingly 'objective' criteria of his or her earnings, must be added the more 'subjective' element of moral assessment of the applicant's character.

Moreover, the issue was complicated in that the first factor of eligibility merged with this one. That is, in a sense the income of a child living with the applicant was considered as part of the applicant's overall income, and remarks on the schedule like "applicant has sufficient income" often meant that the applicant had a son or daughter whose income was "sufficient" to support both himself or herself, and the applicant.

From the above, it is evident that an application for Poor Relief was followed by a detailed (one almost writes, 'merciless') examination of the familial and financial circumstances of the applicant. Before considering what will be the third and fourth "factors of eligibility", this degree of scrutiny merits some consideration.

Foucault's work suggests that we might understand the whole process of the investigation of eligibility of the applicant as both a "surveillance", and a "normalizing gaze". From this perspective we may ask the question afresh, 'what did the "examination" of eligibility

accomplish?'

Such examinations extracted knowledge which was committed, in writing, to the application schedule, which in turn, as we saw in Chapter 2, was continually 'brought up to date' as details of subsequent applications, and other pieces of information, were added. This process created a 'dossier' on the applicant who became a "case". For Foucault, the "case",

".... is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others.... and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normaliized, excluded, etc." ( 45)

The "examination" which is of concern to us, "surrounded by all its documentary techniques" (46), made each individual a "case" of a special sort, viz. a 'pauper'. This was a critical moment - once perceived as a "case" the poor person became an object for further scrutiny, and therefore knowledge, and in turn, control. The "biographical accounts" (47) produced by these kinds of examinations of eligibility, then, were of a special sort and the description they offered was "a means of control and a method of domination" (48).

Again it is worth stressing that such considerations are 'locked out' by traditional triumphalist accounts which are obsessed with how wide was spread the net of Welfare. The only critical leverage which such triumphalism offers on the assessment of eligibility for Poor Relief is in terms of the 'efficiency' of this assessment (efficient/inefficient), or in terms of its value as a step along the road to

Welfare ('a beginning', 'a dawn'/'too little', 'irrelevant to social problems'). Just as a vastly more sophisticated conceptual system is available with which to grapple with the modern "secret State", to borrow Edward Thompson's term (49), so Foucault's perspective suggests a method for critical understanding of mid-nineteenth century Poor Law practice which is not only beyond the scope of, but also obscured by, conventional Scottish histories. Just as the general expansion of the modern British State can be perceived by writers like Thompson to be "taking liberties, and these liberties were once ours" (50), so it is possible to perceive the New Poor Law, and its examination of eligibility as a "turning of real lives into writing" (51), writing with "a certain political function" (52), involving a "technique of power".(53)

This perception informs my understanding of the first two factors of eligibility described above; it also informs the next descriptive section which deals with a third factor, that of parochial registration, and a fourth, that especially complicated issue surrounding the fact that able-bodied people were legally ineligible for Poor Relief.

Thirdly, then, the applicant was confronted with the Law of Settlement. The 1845 Act required a residence of five years before the pauper became eligible for relief in any parish. The onus of deciding the applicant's Settlement lay with the Parish in which he or she had applied. Mackay pointed out that in the absence of a birth certificate "no definite rule can be laid down as to the evidence necessary to prove

that birth took place in a particular parish". His advice was that,

"it is usually sufficient if a number of respectable witnesses.... testify.... that the birth took place in the parish".(54)

It might be objected that the Law of Settlement was not a factor of eligibility at all - theoretically, everyone must have had settlement somewhere, and therefore satisfied this criterion of eligibility automatically. On the other hand, the important point for our purposes is that the individual could be refused Poor Relief by the parish on the grounds that his settlement was elsewhere. While the 1845 Act made provision for the parish to recover aliment from the appropriate parish of settlement, where information was either defective or vague, suggests Mackay, the Inspector was reluctant to afford relief to an individual who might become a permanent charge on the parish, for the applicant, if admitted to the Roll, remained on it so long as he required relief, or until his settlement was ascertained.

Mackay counselled that if the Inspector judged that help was deserved, it should be given without regard for such considerations, but he admitted that this advice was not taken. Faced with the organisational goal of keeping the number of the Poor on the Roll to a minimum, various strategies were developed by the Inspectors and their Parochial Boards. Mackay gave the example of the Inspector who, with a specious show of kindness, obligingly paid the applicant's fare to another town. Practices like this were certainly in operation in Glasgow. A neat

variation on this kind of manoeuvre can be seen in the dispute between the City and the Barony parishes of Glasgow in 1867 over a poor person who had been sent over by the Edinburgh Inspector (apparently under circumstances similar to those in Mackay's example!) The Barony parish held that the individual had alighted at Queen Street railway station, which was the responsibility of the City Parish, and was thus chargeable there.(55)

Fourthly, the applicant had to satisfy the parochial authorities that he or she was "disabled" in some way. The legal position on which this factor of eligibility was based was one of the central bones of contention in the administration of the Poor Law in the nineteenth century. Given the complexity of the situation, a brief summary of the history of the treatment of the able-bodied is necessary in order to understand the constraints on the Poor Law Inspector's handling of applications.

In Scotland, able-bodied workers could not obtain relief from the Poor Law authorities. The legal position was different from that in England where the able-bodied could be granted relief in the workhouse, or where in London and manufacturing districts they might receive cash relief. In Scotland, the Royal Commission on Relief of the Poor had expressed the opinion that "relief to able-bodied persons from funds raised by assessment is neither necessary nor expedient", and clause 68 of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845 had laid down that



"all assessments imposed and levied for the relief of the poor shall extend and be applicable to the relief of occasional as well as permanent poor: provided always that nothing herein contained shall be held to confer a right to demand relief by able-bodied persons out of employment."

It has been observed that after 1845, the second part of clause 68 was construed literally. C.S. Loch, for example, has observed that:

"The able-bodied who were out of employment had no right to demand relief but in an emergency, it might be given to them. It was on this understanding that relief was provided in 1846-7 during the potato famine" (56).

Loch's position is substantiated by certain developments in 1848. In this year the Lord Advocate expressed the opinion that

"able-bodied persons accidentally or unavoidably thrown out of employment and thereby reduced to immediate want, may be regarded as occasional poor to whom temporary relief may lawfully be given out of funds raised by assessment, but that such persons cannot be admitted on the roll of poor entitled to parochial relief." (57)

The Board of Supervision thereupon declared its understanding of the law regarding the relief of the able-bodied to be:

"that while they have not in any circumstances a right to demand relief.... parochial boards may legally.... apply the funds raised by assessment to the temporary relief of destitute able-bodied persons who are out of employment, and that half the collections at the church door are applicable to the same purpose."

Later still, in 1851, Sir John McNeil reminded parochial boards in the Highlands: "You have a discretionary power to relieve able-bodied persons although they have no right to demand relief".

On the other hand, it would not be quite correct to conclude in the manner of the Royal Commissioners in 1909 that, "for nearly twenty years

parochial authorities acted out that interpretation of the law". For the legal position was changed dramatically within 11 years.

In the Petrie vs. Meek case of 1859, the Court of Session stated that it was of the opinion that the case depended on principles which were "authoritatively and finally" settled in the cases of Adams vs. MacWilliam and Thomson vs. McTear, decided by the Court of Session in 1849, and confirmed by the House of Lords in 1852. It was there conclusively determined that:

(i) an able-bodied man has in no circumstances whatever a legal right to parochial relief either for himself or his family,

(ii) by an able-bodied man is meant one who suffers under no personal inability, bodily or mentally, to work,

(iii) the parochial board, and the Inspector of a parish, are not entitled to employ any part of the funds raised by assessment for the support of the poor to the relief or assistance of able-bodied persons, in any circumstances.

The confirmation of this set of decisions in 1859 set the legal position: a judge consulted in the case of Isdale vs. Jack in 1864, for example, said that he could not "distinguish the present case in principle from the case of Petrie vs. Meek..... No new arguments have been submitted in the present case". Moreover, "The Glasgow Herald". of 23rd of January, 1863, reported that:

"The Lord Provost (of Glasgow) said that if a man was starving for two or three days he ceased to be able-bodied and would then be entitled to relief from the Parochial Boards. He thought it better were relief afforded to such persons at first, but the law did not empower Parochial Boards to give it."

This legal position proved a source of embarrassment in other quarters

toc. Thus the Reverend Lees reported to the Select Committee of 1869 that the Law Committee of the Paisley Parochial Board were "decidedly" of the opinion that,

"it would be right that a Board of a mercantile and commercial parish should have discretionary power to give relief in times of commercial distress."

Yet the next Select Committee to enquire into the working of the Scottish Poor Law reported that it was "not prepared to accede" to suggestions "from any quarters, that a discretion should be given to Parochial Boards to grant relief out of the poor rate to able-bodied poor in cases of commercial distress".

Still, that such categorical statements were manipulated and "interpreted" in certain ways by local officials is confirmed by a member of the Local Government Board writing in 1907:

"in practice, neither Parish Councils nor the Local Government Board (the 1907 equivalents of the Parochial Board and the Board of Supervision) regard themselves as justified in absolutely withholding relief from destitute persons, even where physical disability is doubtful."(58)

Moreover, Mackay points out that the Local Government Board said in 1907 (and with no basis in the statute),

"The Inspector should not carry the letter of the law to an extreme, and cause delay in a doubtful case by the necessity of an appeal to the Sheriff. It is obvious that, if a person were really destitute, no long time would elapse before he became disabled from want of food." (59)

Mackay goes on to say that,

"The practical effect of this is to place on the Inspector

of Poor the very difficult duty of deciding when to grant and when to refuse applications for relief by the destitute unemployed." (60)

The situation was further complicated by certain other "contingencies" (61). For example, while the law required a doctor's report as a prerequisite for relief (see Appendix 7 ), it was sometimes difficult to obtain the services of a medical officer. Therefore, it was often simpler and cheaper to offer certain applicants a bed for the night and a meal the next morning (62). Again, the Parochial Board minutes suggest that the Inspectors were not entirely satisfied with the involvement of a medical officer at all. An Edinburgh official, for example, complained in the 1870's that even an

"individual who has a mere scar, or the most temporary ailment, goes and applies to the doctor; and unless the doctor is satisfied that he is really and truly an able-bodied man, able to work a full day's work, he gives him his document, and he applies to get his aliment; so that we have in the city poorhouse at all times a large number of men and women who are perfectly able to work for themselves....." (63).

It appears, however, that in Glasgow at any rate, the doctor's role in the decision of eligibility was not the final word. This lay with the Inspector. Thus in 1869 the Barony Inspector wrote that the medical certificate "guides the sitting member (Inspector) to some extent" (64).

A similar tension seemed to have existed between the parochial authorities and those agents of formal law, the local Sheriffs.

If dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of the Inspector

of Poor (and the Poor Law itself), applicants had recourse to appeal to the local Sheriff, under "9 Victoria, c. 83, s. 73", "alleging themselves to be Proper Objects of Parochial Relief, but who had been refused Relief by Parochial Boards...." (65). For example, the Central Board of Supervision in its twenty-fifth Report, in 1871, collated the following figures to summarise this process in the parishes\* of Glasgow:

No. of Applications to the Sheriff 1869 - 1870	No. of cases in which Inspector of Poor ordered to give <u>interim</u> relief	No. of these cases disputed by Inspector	No. of cases in which Sheriff ordered to admit applicant on to Poor Roll
181	181	3	1

Several factors which inform these figures are obtained by an examination of the Board's Annual Reports. Firstly, it is clear from these reports that the agents of the official Poor Law resented the interference of the 'amateur', i.e., the Sheriff was not in possession of the 'facts', and had not the professional scepticism derived from the direct experience of the Poor Law. Thus, the Central Board's Report of 1851 commented on the perversity of those "influenced by a desire to annoy" (66) who were "instigated" to apply to the Sheriff. The Report seeks to close the loop-hole which provided "a strong inducement to vagrants or impostors to apply to the Sheriff" (67), by extending the 'documentary techniques' practiced by

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\* the numbers shown aggregate the 4 'Glasgow' parishes of the City, the Barony, Govan, and Gorbals.



the Inspectors (68).

Secondly, running throughout these Reports is the explicit statement that the interests of the Inspector's professional judgement were constrained by the interests of the parochial purse-strings. In other words, and the frustration is clear, it was too expensive to contest such cases; and cheaper to provide interim relief. By 1871, a compromise had been struck: from the figures above, it is clear that the Inspectors contested none of the orders for interim relief ('interim relief' meant either a bed for the night, or a financial dispensation which amounted to no more than a 'tip'). At the same time, it is equally evident that the Sheriffs failed to challenge the Inspectors about larger game: out of 181 possible cases, only 1 was recommended as a full-time recipient of Poor Relief.

Thirdly, a factor which frustrated Poor Law officials and researcher alike was the lack of organisation in the Sheriff Courts' system of record keeping. The Board's Report in 1851, thus sought to tighten-up the whole procedure by urging the Inspectors to "do everything in writing",

"for the purpose of affording Parishes some protection against this system of imposture; at the same time of facilitating the proceedings of the Sheriff". (69)

While by 1869, the Board's twenty-third Report urged that caution be exercised in interpreting the Sheriffs' returns, since, "in several Sheriff Courts no complete record is kept" (70). Similarly, the next Reports, the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, made a point of commenting on the inadequacy of record-keeping in the Sheriff Courts.

While for these reasons, it is difficult to say much more that is sensible about the Sheriff's role in the operation of Poor Relief; and similarly, I am unable to say much about the exact manner in which the Poor Law Inspector 'interpreted' the applicant's medical report ( see Appendix 7 ), some indication of the importance of the criteria of "disability" can be derived from a consideration of the application schedules themselves.

As we attempt to unravel this further complication of "disability" criteria, below, two points should not be lost in the descriptive details: Firstly, that the applicant had to go through the rigmarole of seeking to prove "disability" at all, is not construed in this argument as evidence of the Poor Law's 'inadequacy' or 'irrelevance' to an urban-industrial situation. Rather, it is understood as part of "a procedure of objectification and subjectification" (71), an element in the way the lives of members of the mid-Victorian working classes were "carefully collated"(72) in a process which attempted to 'discipline' them. Secondly, to stress the importance of this perspective requires, at the same time, that we do not under-emphasise the possibility and potential of alternative definitions and practices. In order to gain access to the, albeit limited, Relief of the Poor Law, applicants had to give the appearance of accepting the way in which the 'discipline' defined their situation. It is another matter, however, to say that applicants had to internalise this discipline: deep resistance could continue in spite of superficial acceptance.

Disability and Poor Law Practice

Schedule data on the "physical disability" of the applicant are extremely varied in detail. Occasions where the Inspector entered precise medical terms such as "erysipelas", "heamatemesis" and such like are not uncommon; neither are occasions where more general medical terms such as "fever", or more general still, and less medical, such as "illness", uncommon in the schedules.

From a consideration of such data, a classification of disability was drawn-up, as shown in Appendix 2a. This classification was regrouped into that form shown in Appendix 2b. The total number of applications for Poor Relief in District 4, in 1871, is shown in terms of this second classification in Table 1. In this classification the category "social disability" was used to group applicants whose disability was stated, variously, as "widow", "single", "husband in hospital", "with dependant child", and on occasion, "unemployed", and so on. It is evident, from Table 1, that the letter of the Poor Law was not strictly applied in 1871 in Glasgow, since in 124 cases (or 15 per cent of the total number offered relief), the applicant was, strictly speaking, "able-bodied", and therefore ineligible.

Further, the category "Not Easily Classifiable" was employed to group applicants whose "type of disability" was stated in very general terms such as "ill health", "general debility" and so on. From Table 1 it is noticeable that of those offered relief, almost 17 per cent

TABLE 1 : Disability and Poor Relief

	Illness	Pregnancy	Old Age/ Youth	Convalescence	Social Disabilities	Not Easily Classifiable	Total
Poorhouse	317 (39.1) %	25 (3.1) %	101 (12.5) %	15 (2.0) %	78 (9.6) %	115 (14.2) %	651
Cash	44 ( 5.4)	5 ( .7)	15 ( 2.0)	14 (1.7)	39 (5.0)	20 ( 2.5)	138
Other	12 ( 1.5)	-	3 ( .3)	-	7 (1.0)	-	22
Total	373 (46.0)	31 (3.8)	119 (14.8)	29 (3.7)	124 (15.6)	135 (16.7)	811

( refused = 29 : missing values = 56 )

stated a non-specific and vague form of "disability" as their criteria of eligibility. The following paragraphs consider these two groups in more detail.

Firstly, analysis of the schedule data reveals that of the 124 applicants who were offered Poor Relief in the category of "social disability", 110 were women with dependent children, only 9 were women without dependent children, and only 5 were men. The significance of this is highlighted by comparing these applications with those of women with dependent children who claim "illness" as their disability.

Table 2 makes this clear.

TABLE 2 : Type of Disability and Women With and Without  
Dependent Children

Form of disability	Women with dependent children		Women without dependent children		Total
	N	(%)	N	(%)	
Social	110	(78.6)	9	(7.2)	119
Illness	30	(21.4)	116	(92.8)	146
Total	140	(100.0)	125	(100.0)	265

In other words, 78.6 per cent of all women with dependent children (widows, single women, and so on) became eligible for Poor Relief with a "type of disability" which I have classified as "social disability".

By contrast, the vast majority of women without dependent children



claimed "illness" as their "type of disability".

As has been pointed out, the Poor Law itself, and various test cases, had, by 1871, established that only disabled, as opposed to able-bodied, applicants were eligible for Poor Relief. In this sense, an able-bodied woman on her own with dependent children was, strictly speaking, ineligible for Poor Relief. The fact that Inspectors' statements of "type of disability" on the application schedules were of the kind I have grouped as "social disability" signals a discretionary use of the criteria of eligibility of "disability". This discretionary 'interpretation' of disability was in fact a means of relieving women who, although able-bodied, could not go out to work since they had no family support, and had dependent children.

While of the number of applicants stating "social disability", a proportionally large number are offered cash relief, it would be incorrect to conclude that cash relief was a special feature of "social disability". Rather, cash relief tended to be offered to paupers with dependent children. Table 3 shows this by comparing the outcome of all cases of applicants with dependent children with all applicants without dependent children, excluding children themselves. The outcome of the "social disability" category is included in the table for comparison.

This discrepancy in the treatment of those with, and those without dependent children can be understood in terms of the argument employed

TABLE 3 : Outcome in Social Disability Category compared with all applications, with and without dependent children (excluding children themselves)

	(a)		(b)		(c)		(c)	
	"Social disability" category		All applicants with dependent children		All applicants with dependent children but excluding (a)		All applicants without dependent children	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Poorhouse	78	66.7	152	66.4	74	66.1	410	88.9
Cash	39	33.3	77	33.6	38	33.9	51	11.1
TOTALS	117	100.0	229	100.0	112	100.0	461	100.0

in Chapter 3, viz., that outdoor relief was considered more appropriate for those with some family responsibilities.

Secondly, analysis of my classification "Not Easily Classifiable" which was employed to group vague and 'non-medical' statements of "type of disability" reveals that this category contained 63 men, and 72 women. Of these applicants, only 23 had some current partner (spouse or cohabitant), the rest being either single - 57, or widowed - 37, or separated from a partner in some way - 18. Of the total group of 135, 109 had no dependent children.

In other words, a large number of single men and women were offered relief with "Type of Disability" statements such as "general debility", "weak", "illness", "unwell", and so on. This signals another 'discretionary' area in which the Inspectors might have relieved the able-bodied poor, who were, technically speaking, ineligible for relief. Importantly, in this case, the majority of what was an 'unattached' group (85.2%) were offered the "supervisory" relief of the poorhouse: in the absence of a family bond, only 14.8 per cent were offered outdoor relief.

### Ideological Work as the Construction of Moral Hierarchies

Again the argument of this section differs from the approach common among traditional Scottish history, insofar as such history is restricted to critical comment on the New Poor Law's "irrelevance" to

urban industrial poverty. In this way, for W. Ferguson, the "permissive and not mandatory" aspects of the 1845 Act meant that "the New Poor Law was not the answer to the problem of destitution" (73), for R.H. Campbell the fact that the law excluded the able-bodied poor from relief "left a gap in social provision" (74), while in Mitchison's early work, this exclusion meant that "the Act was partly a failure" (75). Such evaluation locates the solution to social problems in terms of administrative and organisational strategies, and emphasises bureaucratic activity in terms of efficiency. Such history fails to take into account, firstly, the way in which social reforms can be accommodated within existing economic and social structures, without fundamentally questioning them. It also fails, secondly, to appreciate that 'social policy' has an 'educative' dimension which seeks to control citizens "by the chains of their own ideas" (76). My argument is that these failures produce a fatal series of limitations in the vision of such 'triumphalist' histories. Most importantly, from the discussion above, it is evident that to say that the New Poor Law 'excluded' the able-bodied is blatantly inaccurate: in its practice, rather, the New Scottish Poor Law did take account of the industrial poor insofar as it engaged with them in negotiations as to their eligibility for relief. How it did so, while preserving its own rhetoric is a question-set which opens other aspects of the operation of the Law to examination.

For example, contemporary sociology (77) suggests that it might be

fruitful to examine the Poor Law Inspector's daily work in terms of the construction of moral hierarchies. Thus, in his manual of practice, Mackay pointed out that,

"Every application for relief is first dealt with by the Inspector of the Poor, who, on his own responsibility takes such action as he thinks proper." (78)

Importantly he added,

"However bad the character of an applicant the Inspector of Poor cannot permit him to starve." (79)

It seems from this that Mackay recognised that over and above the 'factors of eligibility' which the Inspector could employ in the judgement of a case, the applicant's character had relevance to his or her success in obtaining Poor Relief. Now an important mechanism in the Inspector's exercise of 'discretion' was the offer of the poorhouse. In his memoirs an ex-Inspector admitted that in the case of paupers who did not seem proper objects of relief, the practice among Inspectors in his Parish was to offer the poorhouse, knowing full well from the circumstances of the case that this would be refused. He instanced the case of an elderly couple who appeared "disreputable"; an offer of the poorhouse was made to the husband only - as the Inspector predicted, he did not accept, not wishing to be separated from his wife. (80) In this way, the Inspector was relieved of his responsibility to the poor person, had ostensibly adhered to proper organisational procedure, and had got rid of an unwanted pauper.

While it is not possible to 'measure' the extent of this kind of



practice, nor indeed to prove that such practice took place in District 4 in 1871, analysis of the schedule data suggests that there was room for this kind of discretion in the day-to-day activity of Poor Relief.

Table 4 shows, for example, that the applicant who was currently living with his or her spouse was more likely to refuse an offer of the poorhouse than was the applicant who was unattached.

TABLE 4 : Acceptance of Offer of Poorhouse and  
whether applicant has current marital  
partner

Relief Accepted/ Rejected	No present partner and no partner in the past	Currently living with spouse	Totals
Accepted	186	55	241
Rejected	17	21	38
Totals	203	76	279 = N

From these data, therefore, and from the Chief Inspector's instructions (see Appendix 1 ), we see that the Poor Law Inspector was expected to observe the "moral character and general conduct of the applicant" as part of his investigation of cases. Moreover, the application schedule itself contained a "Remarks" section where Inspectors might record such information. Of the 896 applications reconstituted for 1871, 542 schedules contained a remark by the Inspector. Examination of these sections of the schedules suggests that

Inspectors' comments fell into ten broad groups. Table 4 below shows this classification, together with some examples.

TABLE 4 : Inspectors' Remarks on Applicants for Poor Relief.

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(1) Information on secondary sources of income

Her husband was in the Lamplighters funeral society and she received £2 at his death. Rent 8/4 per month - two apartments, no lodgers.

One female lodger who pays half the rent. Husband's wages when working, 15/- per week - no society.

(2) Details of applicant's relatives including tracing of undeclared independents

He has a daughter married to a master plumber, another to a blacksmith, and a son who is a lithographer, who are able to support him.

She resides with parents - father said to be idle.

(3) Detection of cohabitants and putative fathers of applicants' children

Putative father of the child is \_\_\_\_\_ head engineer (married man), - she was a servant to him.

A woman named \_\_\_\_\_, now at \_\_\_\_\_ has two illegitimate children by him.

(4) Description of condition of dwelling and contents

A miserable, dirty house.

In lodgings - a miserable den.

This is a bad locality she resides in and her house is very dirty, also what bedclothes there are.

(5) Personal description of applicant and applicant's immediate family

A tramp.

Applicant was out when visited - saw his wife, a miserable creature.

She is not very clean.

House smells and children are very dirty.

(6) Character assessment of applicant

There is an attempt to deceive in this case - this man is a noted liar.

Applicant had not stirred out of bed when I arrived.

(7) Verification of information supplied by applicant

Saw marriage lines.

Has no birth certificate.

She can supply no proof of residence - sister in Paisley says she \_\_\_\_\_ "moved around a lot".

(8) Details of previous applications for Poor Relief

She was a pauper in Largs before her marriage.

Applicant was on the roll up to 25th October 1867.

See 2 - 1 - 92, wife denies that they have ever applied before.

(9) Details of applicant's criminal record

He has been fined for keeping lodgers.

Convicted of theft, September 1890 at Sheriff Court, Glasgow, and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment.

(10) References

Referred by Mr \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ St.

Known to the Reverend \_\_\_\_\_.

Has no line (housing line, see Chapter 1)

Consideration of the groups in the table suggests two broad types of "remarks". Firstly, a large part of the Poor Law Inspector's role consisted of sleuth work on the applicant's background. His comments therefore included references to checking the Poor Law records themselves

for evidence of other applications by either the applicant or the applicant's family, checking the applicant's birth/marriage details by inspecting certificates, and corresponding with referees, tracing any 'hidden' sources of income such as pensions, undeclared relatives, and recording any other known information about the applicant. That such sleuthing was undertaken to "catch out" the "undeserving" pauper is clear from the following example:

"REMARKS:

Rent 6/8 per month - 1 apartment - there was a woman in the house who says she is a lodger which I doubt very much. - see report 1 - 30 - 34 (Poor Law Schedule) on a child which shows that the applicant is in the habit of deserting his family." (81)

This example also makes it clear that the product of the Inspector's research, in this case research of the Poor Law Records, was used to make inferences about the morality of the applicant - and that such inferences were construed as pertinent in deciding the outcome of the case. Similarly, details of the applicant's marital history were not only seen as pertinent, but these details were 'constructed' in a special way. In the case of a woman who applied for her crippled son by a man with whom she had been living for nine years, the Inspector saw fit to comment that she had taken-up with this man "immediately after leaving her husband" - thereby implying promiscuity.

In a second broad group of "remarks" such constructions are even clearer. A large number of the Inspector's remarks were of an entirely personal kind, ranging from relatively restrained comments on the

applicant's appearance, to polemics as to his or her moral worthlessness.

Thus, about one male applicant the Inspector commented "This report is a parcel of lies, the scoundrel's name is \_\_\_\_\_ see report 4 -41 -20".

While in the case of a female, the Inspector wrote,

"REMARKS:

Please do not give this woman any outdoor relief as there is little doubt but her paramour is about Vinegarhill and relief applied would simply be a premium to vice."

Now, as I have pointed out, my argument locates "discretionary" activity - in this case, "subjective evaluations" - in a structural context, and in the ideological field which provided the gloss for that context. In this sense, while of the two broad classes I have described above, the second group is the more crudely subjective in tenor, the construction of the first class are equally important to my argument. In both, the issue of the applicant's poverty is articulated in terms of the moralist criteria of whether he or she is deserving or undeserving. In discretionary areas, such as the admission of the able-bodied to the category of Official Poor, this was crucial: moralist eligibility criteria were the devices by which some of the disaffected industrial poor might be relieved, but relieved in such a way as not only to deny the structural genesis of their poverty, but also, by the importation of familist and localist rhetorics, to admit them to the 'discipline' of the Poor Law.

In the two chapters which precede this one, a recurrent theme is



that the Victorian eulogies to the Scottish family and parish were always accompanied by a negative, darker side. The construction of the moral hierarchies, above, can now be seen as giving substance to these shadows of the 'beau ideal': and these shadows were to be feared, for they were of the devil. The next, and concluding, section of this chapter will pursue this notion, and consider how an essential component in the 'discipline' of Poor Law was the fear which legitimated this discipline.

### 3. 'Folk Devils' and the Urban Poor: 'Discipline' and Resistance.

While the 'beau ideal' of the Scottish family and the Scottish parish, as we have seen, was composed of images which sanctified peace and order, it was accompanied by a malevolent negative. In the 'moral hierarchies' outlined above, the shadows which inhabited this negative world began to materialize. That is, the ideological spheres of both the domestic community and the local community 'organised' the problem of 'the Poor' within their orbits, in terms of a 'couplet' which was concerned with, on the one hand, stability, order, and reputability, and on the other, the inverse of these. In the terms of this couplet, 'pauperism' presented a force which threatened an image of a society based upon the Family and the Parish. In this way, the ideological field of nineteenth century Scotland 'summoned' pauperism as an evil which was the reverse of the stable order. The "folk devils" who embodied this evil, this 'negation' of stability, were the casual

paupers (82). The 'moral hierarchies' constructed in the day-to-day practice of Poor Relief provided the institutional dimension of these images.

What such 'moral hierarchies' sought to accomplish, was the translation of the outlooks of different social classes and groups into ideological terms: that is, a translation of threats to the established order into more 'universal' concerns. In crude terms, the industrial workers of mid-Victorian Glasgow were hardly threatened by their own objections to the hardships caused by their poverty; rather, such objection, such resistance, threatened that group which made profit, while others lost. From this point of view, the Poor Law, then, can be seen as an attempt to transform class resistance into a moral pathogen; an attempt to split the poor into 'the good' and 'the bad', to use the imagery of 'the good' as a model to provide discipline for 'the bad', and to use the threat of 'the bad' as a moral panic (83) to frighten everybody. As has been pointed out elsewhere (84), such tendencies see the emergence of a readiness to use 'scapegoats', "into which all disturbing experiences are condensed and then symbolically rejected, or 'cast out'." (85) Certainly, in mid-nineteenth century Scotland, while lesser "devils" included, as we have seen, young unattached factory girls, Irish labourers, and the mysterious inhabitants of bothies, the real "folk devils" of the time, and the main threats to social order, were provided by the thought of a large group of disreputable, able-

bodied paupers, independent of family and locality, those institutions whose task it was to help the poor internalise social discipline.

Moreover, this logic completed a circle, and castigated these "devils" as a major threat to those aspects of the family and the parish which it had selected to eulogise. For example, Thomas Chalmers dramatised the fear which his listeners already had of a group of poor people with "unsated appetency", left to its own devices, which included,

"the higher feats of villainy, the midnight enterprise, a rapine sealed, if necessary, with blood, the house assault, highway depredation." (86)

Again, such thoughts offer a perspective on the Poor Law which is very far from that which is restricted to assessing the New Poor Law in terms of its location in the inevitable, and triumphant march towards the Welfare State. Indeed just as it is my contention that the New Poor Law should be understood in terms of how it 'disciplined' rather than how it 'dispensed', so that other, so called, social policy of housing reform was more concerned with sedition than with sanitation. Geoffrey Best suggests that, nationally the first housing improvements destroyed not the most insanitary, but the most unruly, neighbourhoods, the incentive being the suppression of crime, rather than the improvement of houses. (87) Similarly, Gauldie suggests that, in nineteenth century Scotland,

"Middle-class fear of the working class as ridden with epidemic disease, criminal and potentially riotous, was a strong motive towards slum clearance." (88)

The first large and comprehensive clearance scheme was driven, in Glasgow, through what was described in 1877 as,

" a moral sewer of a most loathsome description, crowded with a population, showing by its physique the extent to which the human form divine could be degraded by drunkenness and every attendant form of vice and profligacy." (89)

In this, however, we are again in danger of emphasising only one side of the dialectical relationship between the State and social classes. Although working class voices are, inevitably, silent in the archival material upon which this history is based\*, it is important to recognise the working class resistance to the hegemony of the State, whether locally or nationally. This resistance, in Glasgow, in the second half of the nineteenth century, did gouge a response from the Poor Law Officials; it was a response, however, which met the distress of urban deprivation and poverty, with committees and cavalry. Although outwith my main data set, my research in the Glasgow archives has added some 'original' material to the following note on 'committees and cavalry'. Firstly, the response of committees.

In 1862, the Chief Inspector of Poor addressed the Parochial Board as follows:

"In consequence of the present distress, the great number of persons out of work, and the Poor Laws of this country having made no provision for the relief of able-bodied persons, an arrangement was entered into with the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Parochial Boards, whereby all the above class requiring relief, should have their

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\* As I have pointed out in the preface to this thesis, I can never 'know' the Glasgow Poor of 1871 as Willis 'knew' the "lads" in his study.

cases reported to, and their circumstances inquired into by the Officials of the Parochial Boards, and if found proper objects of charity, suitable relief should be granted for themselves and their families, in return for which the men should be employed in such labour as could be conveniently obtained for them" (90)

"Such labour", in this nineteenth century version of "Job Creation", included making tar ropes, and working on the City Parks. Of special importance, however, the strategy of "relief in exchange for labour" preserved the principle of the New Poor Law, and, as Fox-Piven and Cloward indicate, reinforced the "work ethic" conveyed by this principle. As they suggest,

"Relief arrangements deal with disorder , not simply by giving aid to the displaced poor, but by granting it on condition that they behave in certain ways and, most important, on condition that they work.... the occasion of giving vitally needed assistance can easily become the occasion of inculcating the work ethic.... for those who resist risk the withdrawal of that assistance." (91)

Relief Committees of the sort set-up in 1862 allowed Poor Law officials to preserve their own principles in the situation. In 1865, for example, the Chief Inspector leaves us in no doubt as to his views. One hundred and fifty applications were received by the Committee in this year, and most were handloom weavers:

"For the first week about 40 of them spent their time in holding meetings and sending deputations to the Sheriff and the Lord Provost, in order to get relieved without complying with the conditions laid down by the Board. After spending the day in meetings and deputations they came to me about four or five o'clock in the afternoon for relief, stating that their wives and families were starving - the firmness of the Lord Provost put a stop to this. The next scheme tried was to apply for relief at the end of the week, when there was no time to investigate their cases, and as they were starving (his emphasis) relief must be granted till Monday, after which several never came back. One week nearly the whole of the men were too late at their work every morning. They did not, however, try this a second time...." (92).

Further, in Glasgow, Parochial officials were at pains to ensure that Relief Committees did not undermine the rhetoric of the Poor Law itself. In such arrangements between the Municipal and Parochial authorities, the former provided the cash and the latter provided the investigation of cases. The stress which the Poor Law Board placed on this is noteworthy. In 1879, the Board stated that,

".... applicants shall be referred to the Parochial authorities, and.... no case shall under any circumstances, be relieved by the Municipality except on their recommendation"(93 - their emphasis)

In other words, municipal authorities who were tempted to aid the unemployed able-bodied poor in times of industrial crisis threatened the whole logic of Poor Relief and threw into crisis the legitimating structures and rhetorics of the treatment of poverty. The structure of the Glasgow Relief Committees\*, however, removed such a threat by locating these committees firmly within the same ethos and practice as the Poor Law itself.

Secondly, the response made by producing cavalry: and here the issues are clear. Mr Moir, a Glasgow Town Councillor and member of the Parochial Board in 1869, remembered vividly the "very widespread commercial depression" of 1848, and how in the face of the Poor Law's disinterest,

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\* While the existence of such Committees informs consideration of the "official" Poor group, detailed analysis of their activities is not possible due to the fact that few of their records have survived.



".... dissatisfaction broke out into open violence, various shops were broken into, and the loose class of the city threw themselves into the melee.... and in the course of a very few hours one evening, damage to the extent of £9,000 was done...."(94).

Gammage's history of 1854 also describes this period:

"On the 6th of March (1848) a serious riot took place. The unemployed operatives.... proceeded up Trongate and other principal streets, breaking into the provision and gun shops" (95).

Again Henderson, who establishes that the legal position during the Cotton Famine of the 1860's forbade the use of parochial funds raised by assessment to relieve the able-bodied poor, describes the protests, at a meeting in 1863 of the United Trades of Glasgow, at this state of affairs. (96)

Moreover, my archival labours in reconstructing the Poor Law applications in 1871 came-up with the following 'undiscovered' piece of history which is of relevance here. I discovered parts of a confidential correspondence which took place in 1892 between the Glasgow Authorities, the Government, and the Army. On the 11th of November, for example, the Lord Provost of Glasgow wrote to Campbell-Bannerman, that,

"As you are doubtless aware, Glasgow and adjacent Parishes have a population of about one and one half millions, and that the pursuits of the vast majority of them are industrial and therefore fickle - particularly of those engaged in mining and iron-working. It is but a short time ago that the services of the Cavalry were urgently wanted in this District, and with no very bright outlook for the coming winter, it is within the bounds of possibility that such devices may be wanted again and suddenly...." (97).

On the 2nd of December 1892, the Lord Provost wrote to Campbell-

Bannerman again, with a tone of rather more urgency:

"with reference to the conversation I recently had with you here, I think it right to inform you that the conditions of matters in Glasgow in regard to the unemployed is such as in the opinion of the Magistrates and Sheriff, to make it almost indispensable in the interests of Glasgow, and the vicinity, that a cavalry force should be stationed at Maryhill. I have, therefore, having regard to the urgency of the matter, addressed a communication to the Commander in Chief asking that such a force should be immediately stationed here, and I beg to enclose a copy of that communication.

I trust that it may receive an immediate and favourable response.

I remain....." (98).

This correspondence is quoted at length to underwrite the point that local authorities perceived the resistance of the working classes as being very real indeed. The reality of this threat makes it quite clear that the State's hegemonic domination was not complete in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, while the focus of this thesis has been to consider the application of the New Poor Law in Glasgow in 1871 as an example of the "educative and regulatory force" (99) of the Victorian State, this force was not omnipotent.

I have argued that, in its practice, the New Poor Law, as opposed to having anything to do with the 'dawn' of Scottish social welfare, should be understood as, not only oppressing and dehumanising the poor, but especially 'disciplining' them so that they could no

longer recognise their own interests\*; at the same time, thankfully, there is evidence of resistance.

I have chosen to conclude this chapter in this way to echo the need for the 'balance' which I discussed at the outset. The Scottish Poor were perhaps powerless, but never passive. From this point of view, the 'restraint' of the urban proletariat in late Victorian Glasgow might imply a 'triumph' for the State; but it was a 'triumph' very different from that written about in much Scottish history.

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\* The reader might, for a moment, try to empathise with the unemployed artisan, who, having undergone a severe invasion of privacy, and much pressure to excuse hardship in terms of personal disability, finds himself under the 'surveillance' of the officials in the City Poorhouse, separated from his wife and children, and required to wear a coloured scarf to acknowledge both his separation, and his classification with some other group of total strangers. Thus one's 'refraction' is 'straightened'.

## CONCLUSION

While many social theorists have agreed that the power of the modern state is rooted in its ability to quash opposition by force, more recent accounts stress that the modern state does not fulfill its role of providing the terrain for capitalist activity by a simple and continuous resort to violence and repression (1). Similarly, while the evidence that the 'coercive arm' of the State was flexed in Glasgow in the last part of the nineteenth century is provided in chapter 5, above, this thesis has been more concerned with the way the modern capitalist state which was emerging in the nineteenth century maintained and reproduced the social relations of capital by a series of interventions - an important one in the area of relief of the poor - by which individuals, families and communities were policed by the 'normalising' agencies of social welfare.

Always in the background of debates about the poor throughout the nineteenth century lurked the spectre of revolution. The unattached poor, set "free" by changes in the occupational structure, or by fluctuations in market forces, were cut-off from the disciplines of the factory system: and this posed a paradox for the emerging state. The needs of capital required, as has been argued, most essentially, a "real stockpiling.... of workers" (2), a reserve army of labour; yet at the same time this reserve army of labour threatened to become one of

insurrection. Two things had to happen: firstly, this 'surplus population' had to be controlled and 'made safe', and secondly, it had to be 'educated' in the values and attitudes necessary for the capitalist process. This thesis has discussed 'social policy' in this context. As early as 1825, then, McCulloch wrote that

"if we would preserve unimpaired the peace, and consequently the prosperity of the country, we must beware of allowing any considerable portion of the population to fall into a state of destitution.... Without (the Poor Laws) the peace of society would not be preserved for any considerable period". (3)

And in this general sense, the nineteenth century Poor Laws did address the problem of controlling the threat of the unattached poor. Golding and Middleton put it neatly:

"Poor relief was the insurance paid to control the reserve army of labour". (4)

This is essentially the Fox-Piven and Cloward (5) thesis: when civil disturbance threatens, 'welfare' expands to draw its sting.

In a manner much more complex and subtle, however, the State holds power by constantly structuring and restructuring patterns of consent for its rule\*, and in a capitalist economic system this hegemony involves sustaining and reproducing, especially, the values and disciplines of 'work'. This thesis has examined this process at two

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\* Several contemporary writers have stressed this in commenting upon Britain's drift "into a Law and Order Society" (6); the notion's roots are, however, Machiavellian.



levels: 'idealist' and 'institutional'.

At the level of ideas, as we have seen, one of the central tenets of the moral theory propounded by the officials of the Scottish Poor Law was that to work was to be respectable and to be among a secular variant of "God's Poor" (7); while to be 'idle' was to be disreputable, and to be among the "Devil's" (8). In other words, this study views the Poor Law as a major moralising influence sustaining and generalising the ideas, and the images, and the lore that work - regular, systematic work - was the obligation of the respectable, 'normal' adult.

Moreover, while the general rules of eligibility, together with the public discussion of the Poor Law must have impressed upon the poor the immense moral force of 'work', this moral force also cast a wider net. In other words, while the rhetoric of the Poor Law addressed the problem of social order among the 'idle', outside the labour force by 'criminalising' certain forms of 'refracted' pauperism, it also addressed problems of the control of labour in terms of the maintenance of the discipline of work and the motivations and incentives of the workforce. As we have seen, where the able-bodied poor were relieved, this relief had to be 'excused' by resort to spurious disabilities. Importantly this practice was an extremely sophisticated element in the structuring of a consensus that engaged many who did not apply for Relief because they shared the view that



to be able-bodied but jobless meant that no assistance was deserved.

This study has stressed however, that a demystification of the 'ideas' surrounding the Poor Law is, by itself, not enough: the ideological work of the Poor Law took place in an institutional 'site' and consisted of specific practices. What impressed the 'importance of work' most clearly of all was the Scottish Poorhouse: the drudgery whereby the poor earned their keep, the whole routinised, controlled regime of the carceral institution. As we have seen, life in the poorhouse was very much bound up with the 'time - work discipline' of

" a division of labour; the supervision of labour; fines; bells and clocks; money incentives; preachings and schoolings...." (9).

This discipline was clearly very important in a developing capitalist economy, perhaps particularly so in an area where, as has been shown, large numbers of Highlanders and Irish people from non-industrial communities had to go through a process of social regulation and be inducted into, and committed to the rigours of nineteenth century industrial production.

The fear, the shame, the stigma that still attach to welfare rights\* and the survival until quite recently of the collective 'memory' of the poorhouse are testimonies to the significance of Poor Relief

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\* In fact, the way in which the modern mass media operate to dismantle the consensus over the Welfare State can be understood as a working and reworking of these old anxieties and prejudices (10). The 'moral panic' over the undeserving pauper has been restructured around the 'folk devils' of Welfare "scroungers".

within the general cultural enterprise designed to make workers work.

Moreover, the way the Poor Law operated on a day-to-day basis impressed upon those who sought help that their family and community lives ought to conform to certain ideals. In this it was the herald of the "normalising agencies of social welfare" described by Garland (11). Like them, it achieved social regulation through "social investigation and scrutiny" (12). Again, however, the Poor Law cast a net which gathered a much wider audience and had an impact far beyond those it treated. The stress on certain family and community ideals were not only invoked to assess eligibility, rather, their centrality, their very enshrinement in the Poor Law signalled their general importance.

For a youthful state, the Poor Law underlined the values of stability, conformity and discipline. Its operation sought to keep the reserve army of labour docile, confined (for instance, the premium set on residential stability), and available for employment whenever their labour could be used. In a sense it should be seen as having a place on a broad 'regulation' continuum which had coercive and penal options at one end: the Poor Law could 'punish' deviations from the 'ideals' it set by refusal, less relief, or confinement to the House.

As the Poor Law helped to reproduce an acceptance of, and more,

a commitment to, the ideas of work, the family and the community, then, it contributed to a still wider process. It helped reinforce from generation to generation those cultural elements which in a most general way aided the growth both of industrial capitalism by reproducing an appropriate labouring population, and of a remarkably orderly and stable nation State by engineering consent for its rule.

From this perspective, far from what is suggested from within the tradition of social administration, 'welfare' is a political strategy, and Poor Relief a regulative process which simultaneously bound individuals and their families in relations of relief and control, of welfare and discipline. Such intervention by the State, moreover, was of a kind which Gramsci saw as raising the mass of the population to "a particular cultural or moral level" (13) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The Poor Law was, from this point of view, one of the "initiatives and activities" which Gramsci saw as forming the political and cultural hegemony of ruling groups (14). It is important to stress the complexity of this process. This study has located a repeated paradox in the way in which the dominant social imagery in industrial Scotland in the nineteenth century was assembled from apparently conservative elements in working class culture. Yet ideas and images about the family and the community could be encapsulated within the Poor Law precisely because they fitted

so well parts of the commonplace experience of workers. From the point of view of, for instance, a nineteenth century cotton operative, it was not difficult to accept the beau ideal of the family when you knew from your own life that this institution was a vital defence against destitution. Again, in the case of the ideal of the local community, for workers the solidarities of kin and neighbourhood were basic to survival, to work in many instances, to cultural life, enjoyment and identity. In the formation of a cultural hegemony, the State and its agencies - in this case the Poor Law - succeeded in 'catching' these elements, inflecting them, and using them to achieve the population's commitment to a set of ideas and practice which secured its domination.

While this study has sought to register the political aspects of 'Welfare' and the Poor Law, at the same time, it has consistently rejected that Marxist (Leninist) ideological offensive which views the Welfare State as simply a repressive mechanism deftly wielded by the ruling class. By contrast, I have drawn from the Marxism, and also a fair amount of the romanticism\* of one of the foremost critics of such mechanistic \*\* views of the State, Edward Thompson. In particular, I have sought to register the contradictory elements in the operation of

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\* The "Telos" policy expressed by Paul Buhle appeals to me: "Marxism without romanticism is not worth a dime" (15).

\*\* In a typically pithy moment, E.P. Thompson complains that the conception of an 'ideological state apparatus' invokes the image of Robin Day (16).



Welfare where many Marxists have perceived a unified structure of social control. This, in effect, has meant rejecting what amounts to a reductionism present in many Marxist accounts, viz., the reduction of the system of Law in general and 'Welfare Law' in particular to a 'superstructure' (17). Rather, drawing from the use Stuart Hall and his colleagues make of Gramsci's theory I have argued that in the development of political class struggle the law has taken on the appearance of independence. As Hall argues, this development produces,

"a degree of judicial 'space' which the working classes sometimes appropriate for their own defence and protection...." (18).

It is for this reason that Edward Thompson's later work has contained a defence\* of certain elements of the legal system, rather than an attack on that system as a whole (19).

In the day-to-day operation of the Poor Law in mid-nineteenth century Scotland there was undoubtedly 'space' which workers and paupers could, on occasion, exploit for their own benefit. This 'space' might sometimes have been 'judicial', as in the possibility of 'playing off' Sheriff against Poor Law Inspector; again such 'space' might have

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\* For the student of contemporary welfare, this notion is crucial: without it, the Marxist critique of welfare appears as indistinguishable from Thatcher's - both see the Welfare State as an oppression. In her build-up to the 1979 election, for instance, Thatcher spoke of "rolling back the Welfare State" in tones reminiscent of Thomas Paine:

"first there was a murmur, then there was a cry and now there is a great shout of anger and determination that we will be free.... so long as we have a government which serves and does not seek to master" (20).

been provided in the operation of the Poor Law bureaucracy - perhaps when central and local boards, or doctor and Inspector, or 'indoor' and 'outdoor' Inspectors, were locked in disagreement; perhaps sometimes the 'space' was a discretionary one created when Inspectors 'accommodated' - or due to local circumstances, were forced to accommodate - those whose eligibility was dubious.

Such 'spaces' are both vital and complex. In this case they signified the contradictions within the hegemonic aspects of Welfare and consequently the potential for popular mass resistance; yet at the same time, as we have seen in, for instance, the discretionary treatment of the able-bodied, such 'spaces' could structure hegemony in its finest and most subtle forms. The evidence we have that the threat of mass action was sufficient to intimidate the local authorities is therefore all the more important in reminding us that 'hegemonic domination' was not complete and resistance was possible.

This study, then, has offered a view of the operation of the New Scottish Poor Law in terms of a tension between two notions of welfare. Firstly it has watched the 'dawn' of Scottish welfare with Gough who declares the Welfare State to be the "use of state power to modify the reproduction of labour power...." (21); yet secondly, this study has noted the continuous presence of resistance to the "welfare sanction" (22). This is important, for it is by locating the contradictions in welfare and registering the degree of 'space' which these contradictions



provide, that it is possible to select and articulate - as Edward Thompson does - certain elements for contemporary socialist and democratic struggle (23).

APPENDIX 1

Extract from Chief Inspector's notes to his Assistant Inspectors,  
January 1, 1848

"... Instructions for Investigating and Reporting Cases

All applicants for Parochial Relief to be seen and examined at their places of residence by the Assistant Inspector of the District, and the case to be Reported after the following manner, and including, if possible, satisfactory evidence of every particular likely to affect their claims.

\* All references to be rendered under the proper head of the Report to which they severally apply. Proper names and addresses to be carefully and legibly written.

Date of application - Name of Applicant - Age - Residence - place of Birth - Trade or Occupation - amount of Weekly Earnings, and cause of application.

\* The same particulars to be observed in reference to the husband or wife (if any), specifying those who reside, and those who do not reside in family.

Settlement of Applicant to be minutely described, distinguishing, in progressive order, the Parish of each residence, and the length of time resident in each. Nature and amount of any additional means or resources of Applicant, - such as assistance derived from other parishes, from pensions, societies, friends, relations, etc.

Amount of rent paid as householder, or lodger.  
 Moral character and general conduct of Applicant.  
 Proof of Births, Marriages, Ages, etc. by extracts from registers and other documentary evidence.  
 If Applicant or family (if any) at any previous period applied for, or received Parochial Relief in Scotland.

In every case where application is made for relief in food or money on the ground of ill health or disablement of body, a Special Report line is to be filled up, by the Inspector who has visited the case, and left by him at the shop or house of the Surgeon of the District. The same rule to be observed in all cases when application is made by such parties for renewal of Tickets. The opinion of the Medical Practitioner to be engrossed in the Report.

\*Strict vigilance to be observed in the investigation of cases of alleged desertion of wives by their husbands and every prudent and available means adopted to guard against imposition in any form, and to secure accuracy. When all attainable information has been embodied in the Report, it should be submitted to the Inspector. "

(Source: "Observations on the Mode of Administering the Poor Laws at the Town Hospital, Glasgow 1847-48" A.M.Adams)

## APPENDIX 2

Classification of DisabilityClassification (a)

1. Infectious disease
2. Physical injury
3. Disease of the blood
4.       "       "       " heart and blood vessels
5.       "       "       " respiratory system
6.       "       "       " digestive tract
7.       "       "       " liver and gall bladder
8. Deficiency and metabolic diseases
9. Disease of the urinary system
10. Disease of the nervous system
11. Inflammatory disease
12. Mental disease
13. Skin disease
14. Disease of the eye and ear
15. Disease caused by neoplasms
16. The rheumatic diseases
17. Pregnancy
18. Old age
19. Youth
20. Convalescence
21. Social disability
22. Miscellaneous or not easily classifiable

Classification (b)

1. Illness
2. Pregnancy
3. Old age and youth
4. Convalescence
5. Social disability
6. Miscellaneous or not easily classifiable

## APPENDIX 3

Management of Data on Relatives

- (i) Spouse/cohabitant/"partner": data possibilities of nature of relationship: -

No partner now, nor at any time in the past.

Partner at present who is spouse.

Partner in past who is still alive, and is spouse, but not living with applicant.

Partner in past, dead, was spouse.

Partner at present who is cohabitant.

Partner in past who was cohabitant, is still alive, but is not now living with applicant.

Partner in past who was cohabitant, but is now dead.

- (ii) Details of such "partners": -

Age, Occupation, whether earnings are stated or not, whereabouts.

- (iii) Numbers: -

Number of past spouses.

Number of "sires".

Number of past cohabitants.

Number of "sires"

- (iv) Dependants: -

Number of dependants; number of these who are children;

Number of these who are adults; whereabouts.

- (v) Independants: -

Total number of persons who are related to, but "independent" from the applicant.

Details of two of these independants:

Sex; age; marital status; number of offspring; occupation; whereabouts; whether there is a statement of earnings.

## APPENDIX 4

Horizontal Classification of Occupations

<u>Class</u>	<u>Specific Occupation</u>		
1. Agriculture + Sea	Farmer/Crofter Field Worker Outdoor Worker Ploughman Seaman, sailor	Shepherd Fisherman Gardener Dairyman	
2. Army	Soldier N.C.O.		
3. Boot and Shoe Trade	Boot closer Shoe binder Shoe maker	Slipper maker Laster	
4. Building	Bricklayer Bricklayer's labourer Builder Mason Painter Plasterer Plumber	Slater Mill wright Copper-smith	
5. Clothing Trade	Hatter Rag picker Rag store worker Stay maker	Tailor Clothier	
6. Coal and Ore	Coal carrier Miner, collier Miner's boy	Redsman Ironstone miner	
7. Craft	Coach painter Cooper Blacksmith Potter Saddler Thatcher Wheelwright	Gold beater Pump maker Clock maker Coach builder	
8. Domestic Servants	Servant Footman Ostler		
9. Housewives			
10. Labourers (unspecified)			
11. Metal and Engineering	Boiler maker Brass founder Foundry labourer Furnace man Grinder Hammerman	Iron dresser Moulder Puddler Rivetter Tinsmith Viceman	Engineer Wireworker Ship builder Mechanic Brass finisher



<u>Class</u>	<u>Specific Occupation</u>	
12. Misc. Domestic Manufacture	Basket maker Box maker Brush maker Candle maker Pipe maker Pocket-book maker Sewer	Umbrella maker Picture framer Carpet weaver
13. Misc. Factory Work	Brewer Cork cutter Glass cutter Gutta percha worker Leather dresser Paper maker Pottery worker Rope spinner	Tobacco worker Sugar house foreman Maltman Nail maker Chemical manufacturer 'In bottling store'
14. Misc. Residual	Bible woman Canvasser Cleaner Dealer Hawker Midden progger Prostitute Salesman Scavenger/sweeper Sweep Thief	Traveller Washer 'Writes petitions' Vagrant
15. 'Civil Service'	Policeman Removal-to-poorhouse-man Sheriff Officer	
16. Printing	Builder (book) Block printer Litheograph printer Printer	Compositor
17. Small Shopkeeper	Baker Barber Draper Herring curer Poulterer Spirit dealer 'Shopkeeper'	Vegetable shop Ham curer Butcher Muslin agent Cotton store worker Grocer
18. Small Transport	Boatman Cabman Carter Message boy Porter	Van driver Carrier Book deliverer Bus driver Stableman
19. Teaching, Clerical Professional	Clerk Teacher Railway timekeeper	Doctor Lawyer

<u>Class</u>	<u>Specific Occupation</u>	
20. Textiles	Beamer	Reeler
	Bleacher	Spinner
	Calenderer	Strapper
	Clipper	Tambourer
	Cloth Lapper	Throstler
	Cutter	Twister
	Dresser	Waste picker
	Dyer	Weaver
	Flax dresser	Winder
	Flowerer	Mill worker
	Flyer	Warper
	Heckler	Fringer
	Heddler	Tenter
	Pricer	Piecer
21. Wood and Furniture	Cabinet maker	Piano maker
	Carver	Sawyer
	Chair maker	Wood turner
	French polisher	Wood merchant
	Joiner	
22. Not Easily Classifiable	Dock labourer	Contractor
	Fitter	Land surveyor
	Gatehouse keeper	Detective
	Musician	Singer
	Pensioner	Auctioneer
	Minister's man	
	Bell man	
	Waiter	
23. Apprentices		
24. In Institutions	In prison	
	In poorhouse	

APPENDIX 5 : 'Questionnaire' used in reconstituting the applications  
for 1871.

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CODE

---

1. Locating number (1)
2. Locating number (2)
3. Number of application
4. DATE OF APPLICATION : Month
5. DATE OF APPLICATION : Year
6. Sex
7. Residence
8. Place of birth
9. Condition
10. Age
11. Have you ever remarried? If so, how many times?
12. Religious denomination
13. Occupation
14. Earnings (1)
15. Earnings (2)
16. Wholly or partially disabled
17. Form of disability
18. Do you have a partner who is staying with you?
19. If yes, is this partner your spouse or cohabitant?
20. Age of this partner
21. Occupation of this partner
22. Earnings of this partner
23. Have you had a partner in the past who is still alive but is not  
now staying with you?
24. If yes, was this person your spouse or cohabitant?

## APPENDIX 5 continued.

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CODE

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- 25. Age of this partner
- 26. Occupation of this partner
- 27. Earnings of this partner
- 28. Have you had a partner in the past who is now dead?
- 29. Age of this partner
- 30. Occupation of this partner
- 31. Earnings of this partner
- 32. DEPENDANTS: Total number of dependants
- 33. DEPENDANTS: Number of dependants (children)
- 34. DEPENDANTS: Number of dependants (adults)
- 35. Total number of independants
- 36. Occupations of independants
- 37. Earnings of independants (1)
- 38. Earnings of independants (2)
- 39. Whereabouts of independants
- 40. Applicant's father's occupation
- 41. Is applicant's father still alive?
- 42. Applicant's mother's occupation
- 43. Is applicant's mother still alive?
- 44. Spouse's father's occupation
- 45. Is spouse's father still alive?
- 46. Spouse's mother's occupation
- 47. Is spouse's mother still alive?
- 48. Have you made applications to other districts?
- 49. Have you yourself made prior applications?

## APPENDIX 5 continued.

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CODE

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50. Has your family made prior applications?
51. Has your family made prior applications in other districts?
52. Settlement
53. Inspector
54. REMARKS

55. OUTCOME

- (i) Offered Poorhouse
- (ii) Accepted/Refused
- (iii) Duration
- (iv) Nature of termination
- (v) If withdrawn, why?
- (vi) Offered cash
- (vii) Accepted/applicant disappeared
- (viii) Duration
- (ix) Relief granted on a weekly basis/monthly basis
- (x) Nature of termination
- (xi) If withdrawn, why?
- (xii) Offered other relief
- (xiii) If yes, specify
- (xiv) Accepted/Refused
- (xv) Duration
- (xvi) Nature of termination
- (xvii) If withdrawn, why?

## 56. RESIDENTIAL HISTORY:

Residence	Years	Months	Days
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57. Total number of applications
58. Dates of these applications

## APPENDIX 6

COPY OF A CIRCULAR SENT OUT BY THE INSPECTOR OF POOR

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

---

CITY PARISH OF GLASGOW

---

Office of Parochial Board  
21st February 1880

Sir,

I shall be particularly obliged by your informing me what the person (whose name appears overleaf, who is applying to the Parish),

Sister Mary Murray

is at present earning from you, one week with another; and, also, what industrious persons are, on average, now capable of earning at the same kind of work.

I trust you will excuse me giving you this trouble, as these inquiries are found to be the best means of preventing imposition on the part of paupers.

I am, Sir,  
Your Obedient Servant,

Inspector



Appendix 6 : continuedCOPY OF EMPLOYER'S STATEMENT OF EARNINGS

District No. ....

Register No. ....

Colour of ticket..... No. ....

## EMPLOYER'S STATEMENT OF EARNINGS

GLASGOW

..... is at present earning, one week with  
another ..... shillings. Industrious persons are earning, on an  
average at the same employment ..... shillings per week.

Signed,

Inspector

## APPENDIX 7

COPY OF DOCTOR'S REPORT

GLASGOW CITY PARISH

Doctor:                    will please visit the undernamed pauper,  
fill up this schedule and return it to me.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Inspector. \_\_\_\_\_

Pauper's Name

Residence

Age

Occupation

Settlement

Date of attendance

Sickness or other cause of attendance

Present extent and nature of sickness, etc., and probable duration:

How far prevented from attending his or her usual calling?

Is pauper able to be removed to House?

Is pauper able to be removed to Parish of Settlement?

Wine and other necessaries to be given to the patient:

I have visited the above-named Pauper, and hereby certify the particulars above written to be true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Medical Officer

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- (87) G. Best Shaftesbury, 1964, P.'s 108-125
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- (89) Ibid.
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- (91) F. Fox-Piven and R.A. Cloward Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare, 1972, P. 22
- (92) City Parish of Glasgow Inspector's Committee Minutes, Glasgow Archives
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- (94) Select Committee on Poor Law (Scotland), 1869, P. 127
- (95) R.C. Gammage History of the Chartist Movement, 1874, reprinted 1976, P. 295
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# CONCLUSION

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- (2) K. Marx      Capital, 1858, page 508.
- (3) Quoted in P. Golding and S. Middleton, Images of Welfare, (1982), page 14.
- (4) P. Golding and S. Middleton      Ibid., page 14.
- (5) F. Fox-Piven and R.A. Cloward Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare, 1972.
- (6) S. Hall      Drifting Into a Law and Order Society, 1979.
- (7) P. Golding and S. Middleton      Op. cit., chapter 2.
- (8) P. Golding and S. Middleton      Ibid., chapter 2.
- (9) E.P. Thompson      "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism", in "Past and Present", 38, 1967, page 90.
- (10) P. Golding and S. Middleton      Op. cit., chapter 4.
- (11) D. Garland      "The Birth of the Welfare Sanction" in "British Journal of Law and Society", volume 8, number 1, Summer 1981.
- (12) D. Garland      Ibid., page 29.
- (13) A. Gramsci      Selections From the Prison Notebooks, 1871, page 258.
- (14) A. Gramsci      Ibid., page 258.
- (15) P. Buhle      "Notes and Commentary, E.P. Thompson and his critics" in "Telos", number 49, Fall 1981, pages 136 - 137.
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- (17) S. Hall et.al.      Policing the Crisis, 1978, page 140.
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- (19) E.P. Thompson      Writing by Candlelight, 1980.
- (20) Quoted by B. Schwarz and Colin Mercer, "Popular Politics and Marxist Theory in Britain", in G. Bridges and R. Brunt, Silver Linings, 1981, page 162.



CONCLUSION continued

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- (22) D. Garland Op. cit.
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